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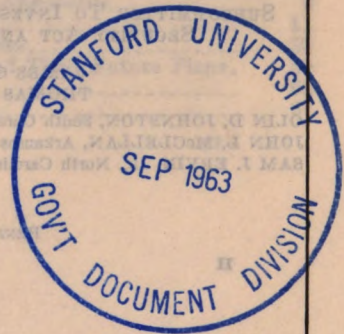
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THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL YOUTH AND STUDENT APPARATUS

A MONOGRAPH PREPARED FOR THE
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY
ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS
OF THE
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY
UNITED STATES SENATE



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CONTENTS

	Page
Introduction: The role of youth in the Communist movement.....	1
Chapter I. The International Communist Youth Apparatus.....	3
Chapter II. The World Youth Festivals.....	11
Chapter III. The Afro-Scandinavian Youth Congress.....	53
Chapter IV. The American Young Communists and Their Future Plans.....	59
Appendix I—Special Report, Festival Control.....	63
Appendix II—Communist Viewpoint.....	67

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APRIL 18, 1963.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
County of New York, ss:

Herbert Romerstein, being duly sworn, deposes as follows:

All of the statements of fact in this monograph are to my own knowledge true, except where stated to be on information and belief, and with respect to matters so stated, I believe them to be true.

(S) HERBERT ROMERSTEIN.

[SEAL]

WILLIAM COLIN LOVELOCK,

Notary Public, State of New York, No. 44-2410400.

Qualified in Rockland County. Term expires March 30, 1965.

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL YOUTH AND STUDENT APPARATUS

(By Herbert Romerstein) ¹

INTRODUCTION: THE ROLE OF YOUTH IN THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

Since the Russian Revolution, of November 1917, young people have been the target of Communist schemes, and the instrument of Communist operations throughout the world. From its earliest days the Communist movement recognized that young people have a natural revolutionary spirit but, coupled with this, a lack of experience. The Communists have made considerable use of both these tendencies of young people.

In 1919, in Moscow, the Communist International was formed. It was a world party, consisting of the hand-picked representatives of the Communist Parties of each country. They pledged their allegiance to the central executive committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. In the next year, 1920, each Communist Party sent a representative of its Young Communist League to Moscow to form the Young Communist International. At that time the basic framework of the relationship between the Communist youth movement and the Communist adult movement was laid down. Under it, the Communist youth movement was to be at all times subordinate to the adult Communist Party and to the international Communist leadership in Moscow. Young people were not to be permitted to make their own decisions. Their function was to obey the orders of the international Communist leadership.

Stalin pointed out in his pamphlet "Problems of Leninism," written in 1926, that the young Communist movement was a transmission belt to carry the Communist Party line to the young people. Stalin said that the work of the young Communist organization was to "help the Party to educate the young generation in the spirit of Socialism."

As time went on, the Communists became more sophisticated in their approach to young people. They realized that many young people would not join an openly Communist youth organization, so the concept of Communist front organizations for young people was developed.

¹ EDITOR'S NOTE.—While still a youth, Herbert Romerstein spent four years in the Communist movement, two of them in the Communist Party. Since breaking with Communism in 1950, he has devoted himself to the study of the problem of subversion, particularly in relation to youth. During this time, he has interviewed defectors from the Communist Party, covered subversive meetings, and compiled an extensive file of documents on Communism.

From 1954 to 1956, Mr. Romerstein was an investigator for the New York State Committee Investigating Communist summer camps and "charity" rackets. In 1959, he attended the Communist Youth Festival in Vienna, Austria. In 1962, he attended the Communist Youth Festival in Helsinki, Finland, and the Afro-Scandinavian Youth Congress in Oslo, Norway.

Mr. ROMERSTEIN has been a witness before this committee as well as the House Committee on Un-American Activities and the Subversive Activities Control Board and he serves as a consultant to a number of State and Federal agencies. Mr. Romerstein is author of the book "Communism and Your Child" (Book-mall, New York, 1962), and numerous articles on Communism.

The International Communist Movement's expert on front organizations, Otto Kuusinen, has outlined the basic concept of Communist work among youth and indicated its real purpose. Kuusinen was speaking at the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, held in Moscow in the summer of 1935. He told the assembled Communist delegates from all over the world:

We want to attack our class enemies in the rear when they start the war against the Soviet Union, but how can we do so if the majority of the toiling youth follow not us but for instance the Catholic priests or the liberal chameleons?

Kuusinen then went on to answer his own rhetorical question:

We need a revolutionary youth movement at least ten times as broad as our Parties and a united youth front hundreds of times broader still.

This, then, was the basic Communist concept of youth work. The Communist youth organization would transmit the Party line to the young people. Another youth organization, or network of youth organizations, would not be openly Communist, it would claim to be for peace, civil liberties, and similar popular objectives, but it would be controlled by the Communist Parties and their Young Communist Leagues. It would utilize unsuspecting young people to carry out the wishes of the International Communist Movement.

Young people involving themselves in organizations that have the noble purpose of fighting for peace, or for civil liberties, or for civil rights, often find themselves in Communist-led rioting or in other subversive activities against the interest of their country. Others have joined organizations which have as their ostensible purpose folk singing and cultural activities. These young people sometimes find themselves engaged in such cynical Communist propaganda projects as the World Youth Festivals.

In the Declaration of the International Communist Conference held in Moscow in November and December of 1960, it was pointed out that "there are new opportunities now to draw the younger generation into the struggle for * * * the great ideas of Communism" and the Declaration ordered the Communists of the world to "extend their work among the youth" (World Marxist Review, December 1960).

The American Communist Party, true to form, immediately began to carry out the decisions made in Moscow. Gus Hall, Secretary General of the Communist Party, U.S.A., discussing the Moscow conference, said that it was the job of the American Communists to "work out the distinctive needs, policies, and tactics for our own country" in carrying out the Moscow decisions. Since the Moscow program called for an increase of so-called "peace" activity, Hall ordered the Communists in the United States to "work in every community, every people's organization, every labor union, every church, every house, every street, every point of gathering of our people." He said:

It is essential to reach not only the organized but the unorganized masses. What is required is the creation of a mass grassroots movement for peace and disarmament involving literally millions of Americans. It is imperative to bring everyone—men, women, youth and, yes, even children—into the struggle (Gus Hall Report to the National Committee Communist Party, U.S.A., Jan. 20, 1961).

In the same report, Hall ordered the Communist Party to "give much higher priority for the work among youth in all fields of endeavor."

CHAPTER I. THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST YOUTH APPARATUS

The Young Communist International functioned from its Moscow headquarters from 1920 until 1943. In 1943, without consulting the Communist Parties of the world, Moscow announced that the Communist International had been dissolved in the interest of "international solidarity in the war against Nazi Germany." The Young Communist International was dissolved along with its parent organization. But after the war was over, it became necessary for the Communists to once again set up an international apparatus to control the Communist Parties and, of course, the Communist youth organizations.

WORLD FEDERATION OF DEMOCRATIC YOUTH

At the end of 1946, the Communist Information Bureau or Cominform was created to control the activities of the Communist Parties. The year before, in London, the Communist youth organizations of the world joined with many non-Communist organizations to form the World Federation of Democratic Youth. Only a few years went by, however, before the non-Communist youth organizations realized that the WFDY was under complete Communist control and that there was no opportunity for expression of any point of view other than the Communist within its ranks. By 1948, almost all the non-Communist organizations had left and shortly after that the Communists were left isolated in the WFDY. The defection of the non-Communist organizations served to expose the complete Communist character of the World Federation of Democratic Youth. As a result, the Communists made no secret of their control over this organization. Its position on international affairs was always exactly the same as that of the Soviet Union. The headquarters of WFDY is in Budapest, Hungary. Communist youth leaders were trained in the ranks of WFDY and returned to their own countries, to take their places either as leaders of the Communist youth movement, or, in some cases, as leaders of the Communist Parties. At the Fifth Assembly of the World Federation of Democratic Youth, which took place in Prague in August of 1959, Piero Pieralli was "elected" President of WFDY. Pieralli is also the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Youth Federation of Italy. His predecessor as President of WFDY was Bruno Bernini, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Youth Federation of Italy, who has since assumed a position as one of the leaders of the Italian Communist Party. Pieralli was "reelected" President of WFDY at the Sixth Assembly, which took place in Warsaw in August of 1962. At that same Congress, Claude Gatignon, a French Communist, was "elected" Secretary General of WFDY to take the place of Christian Echard. Echard, a member of the National Bureau of the Communist Youth Union of France, has returned to his own country

to take a position in the leadership of the Communist Party. Communists from the following countries were elected as Vice Presidents of WFDY: The Soviet Union, Cuba, Chile, Red China, Indonesia, India, and Sudan. About 600 delegates and observers attended the Congress.

Since 1959 the WFDY representative in charge of work in the United States has been Tom Morris, a member of the Secretariat of WFDY. Mr. Morris is also known as Thomas Michael Jala. He is a member of the Communist Party of Canada and is an official of the Young Communist League of Canada. In 1959 he took the place of Floyd Williston as the Canadian representative to the leadership of the WFDY, and as the WFDY representative for work in Canada and the United States. Both Williston and Morris have met with officials of the Communist youth movement in the United States and both visited Communist North Korea in 1959. Morris also visited Cuba that year.

According to Pyotr Reshetov, a member of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Young Communist League of the Soviet Union, the World Federation of Democratic Youth has a membership of 100 million people in 97 countries. This figure is extremely high and takes in the government-sponsored youth organizations behind the Iron Curtain, as well as the greatly inflated membership figures for the Communist youth movement in the Free World.

INTERNATIONAL UNION OF STUDENTS

Since 1946 there has existed a Communist international student organization affiliated to the World Federation of Democratic Youth called the International Union of Students. While WFDY has its headquarters in Budapest, Hungary, the IUS makes its headquarters in Prague, Czechoslovakia. President of the IUS is Jiri Pelikan, a member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. Pelikan, who is 40 years old, served in 1948 in the Czech Parliament as a member of the Communist Party delegation. He has had an important position in the International Union of Students since 1953, first as General Secretary and then as President.

Pelikan has also been active in the affairs of the Soviet Secret Police. In 1961, he was involved in the kidnapping of a West German student, Dieter Koniecki. On January 15, 1961, the 28-year-old Koniecki received a telephone call from Pelikan asking him to meet Pelikan in East Berlin. He crossed over and never returned. A month later the Czechoslovak Communist news agency announced that Koniecki had been arrested by the Czech secret police. They did not disclose the time, place, or circumstances. They claimed, however, that Koniecki was a member of a "dangerous spy ring." He was sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment at a secret trial. The specific charges against him were never revealed. Koniecki had been a leader of the liberal student movement in West Germany and had advocated closer cooperation and friendship with the Communists, in the interest of peace. His arrest, and the apparent complicity on the part of Pelikan in Secret Police activities, discouraged a number of other West German students who had also felt that cooperation with the Communists was possible.

The IUS Sixth Congress, held at Baghdad in October of 1960, shocked the student world by adopting a resolution which said in part:

The Sixth Congress of the IUS, viewing with deep concern the situation in the Middle East, considering Israel an imperialist base and permanent center of conflict in the Middle East threatening peace to this region * * * condemns the aggressive activity and policy of Israel * * *.

This was an apparent attempt to gain the support of students in the Arab countries. To some extent this campaign has been successful. It has resulted in numbers of Arab students going to the Soviet Union and the other Communist bloc countries for their schooling, as well as the affiliation of a number of student organizations in the Arab countries with the International Union of Students.

The Congress also adopted a resolution on the Negro question in the United States, which read in part:

The Sixth Congress of the IUS * * * condemns the Government of the United States for its indifference to these persecutions and violence by not providing legal protection to the embattled students both Negro and white.

The resolution demanded "the immediate and full enforcement of the U.S. Supreme Court decision." The fact that the International Union of Students was only pretending interest in the problem of Negro Americans is shown by the fact that race hate has often been used by the IUS as part of its anti-American campaign.

The IUS News Service Bulletin of November 1959 carried the following story:

Public aroused over invitation to entertain U.S. sailors. An invitation extended by the American Women's Association in Indonesia to Indonesian women university students, to entertain at a dance sailors of the U.S. fleet, has evoked strong public indignation throughout the country. The Cultural and Educational Committee of the Indonesian Parliament unanimously joined the public's protest. Indonesian papers carried reports of leaders of many organizations and of Members of Parliament condemning the scheme of the American Women's Association which includes wives of diplomatic members in the U.S. Embassy. Djakarta's wartime administrator, Lieutenant Colonel Umar, issued a statement in which he reminded the Indonesian people and students that they should maintain Indonesia's customs, culture, and characteristics. If the Americans wanted to hold a "dance night" for U.S. sailors, he said, they should confine it to their own circles. A statement by the U.S. Ambassador to Indonesia, Howard Jones, accusing the Indonesian people of "insinuation and slander" when they opposed the invitation, has aroused even greater indignation and a member of the Indonesian Parliament demanded that the U.S. Ambassador voluntarily leave Indonesia because his statement on having Indonesian students entertain U.S. naval men was an insult to the Indonesian people.

In the Communist mind, race hatred against white Americans is quite proper, but the world has the right to condemn the United States for any discrimination, no matter how minor, against Negro Americans.

The Seventh Congress of the International Union of Students took place in Leningrad, U.S.S.R., in August 1962. Messages of greetings were sent to the Congress by the international Communist front, World Peace Council; the "Red" Dean of Canterbury, Hewlett Johnson; the Chinese Communist official Kuo Mo-jo; the North Vietnamese Communist President, Ho Chi Minh; and the Spanish Communist poet, Marcus Ana, whose real name is Sebastian Fernando Macarro Castillo.¹ The most important of all the greetings to the

¹ Macarro served 22 years in jail in Spain for murders which he committed while a member of the Communist youth organization in Spain during the Spanish Civil War. He is today an active member of the Communist Party of Spain, working in exile and touring the world making speeches calling for the overthrow of the Franco government.

IUS Congress came from Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev. The full text of his greetings, which appeared in "Pravda" on August 19, 1962, reads as follows:

DEAR FRIENDS: I take this opportunity to welcome on Soviet soil the participants of the Seventh Congress of the International Union of Students and all students represented by you here. Broad and bright prospects of inspired and joyous work for the happiness and prosperity of the peoples on our earth open up before you, students representatives of the young generation. There are already concrete possibilities for eliminating hunger and disease on our planet and for placing all the wealth of the globe and the vastness of outer space in the service of man, of his happiness and welfare.

However, the road to this noble goal is blocked by the forces of reaction and war which want to push the peoples into the abyss of nuclear catastrophe. The peoples of the world are strong enough to prevent this catastrophe. They hate war and are fighting with increasing resolve for peace and for general disarmament. The active participation of students everywhere is exceptionally important to this noble struggle of the peoples.

The struggle for peace can be successful only when the people fight for it together. Therefore, the ridding of mankind of the threat of a universal annihilating war, from the threat of mass annihilation of people and destruction, depends to a great extent on you, the young people, and your united action.

Your Congress is held in August, the month of the harvest. By exchanging the experiences of the struggle and the activities of the students in your countries, you are also gathering a special kind of harvest. Try to be particularly painstaking in collecting the seeds from new plants, which, on the fields of your future activities in the interest of peace, happiness, and progress, will yield the richest fruit. I wish your Congress successful work. N. Khrushchev.

18 AUGUST.

Among the Communist student leaders who spoke at the Congress were Bernardo Arevelo of El Salvador; Avega of the National Union of Students of Ghana; Jean Claude Roure of the National Union of French students; Carlos Alberto Olivero de Sauton of the National Union of Brazilian Students; President Ko San Zun of the Student Union of North Korea; Li Chi-tao of the All China Students Federation; Egon Krenz of the East German-Free German Youth (the Communist youth movement of Germany); Hishem Sherif of the General Union of Palestine Students; and Desiderio de Graca, president of the Students Union of Portuguese Black Africa. De Graca, a student from Angola, expressed thanks to Red China for its support for the Angolan insurrection. He said: "We have taken up arms to defend our independence and right to self-determination." A. Dominguez of the Dominican Republic, R. Sator of Peru, and N. Anniburn of British Guinea also spoke. The Congress "elected" Nuri Abd al-Razak Hussein of Iraq as Secretary General, Jiri Pelikan, President, and Jose Venegas of Cuba and Hassan Bashir Sinada, Vice Presidents, of the International Union of Students. An Executive Committee of 36 members was also elected at the Congress.

A Puerto Rican Communist, Narciso Rabell, works in Prague as a member of the IUS Secretariat. Rabell, an official of the "Movement for the Independence of Puerto Rico" (MPI), appeared in person on TV in Cuba, Jan. 9, 1963. He was in Red China in 1962.

A delegation from Vietnam attended both the Warsaw meeting of the WFDY and the Leningrad meeting of the IUS. It claimed to be representative of the "liberation movement of South Vietnam." Its leader was Dr. Nguyen Xuan Thuy. This delegation was, in fact, representative of the Communist guerrilla movement now operating in South Vietnam. There is evidence that this guerrilla movement has its base in Communist North Vietnam. Its guerrilla fighters are

trained in the north before being sent into combat in the south. Arms, equipment, medicine are all supplied by the Communist government of North Vietnam. The so-called "South Vietnam Liberation Front" pretends to be a government in exile of South Vietnam. It exists only in the North Vietnamese capital of Hanoi. The youth delegation pretending to represent South Vietnam are all living in Communist North Vietnam.

IUS activists frequently graduate to be highly placed Communist functionaries. Claude Christian, chairman of the Progressive Youth Organization of British Guiana, and 1959 IUS Executive Committee delegate, became Minister of Home Affairs in the Cheddi Jagan Government. Christian visited East Germany in January 1963.

A group of Japanese students apparently believed the official statement of the International Union of Students, and the greetings from Nikita Khrushchev, which spoke of peace and disarmament, etc. Shortly before the opening of the IUS Congress, three Japanese student delegates arrived in Moscow's Red Square. They put up banners and distributed leaflets against the resumption of Soviet nuclear testing. All of them were members of the ultra-leftist Japanese student organization Zengakuren. This organization, which is affiliated with the International Union of Students, has been captured from the official Communist Party of Japan by a group of ultra-militant Communists who do not take orders from Moscow. The three young Japanese were arrested as soon as they unfurled their banners and began giving out their leaflets. They did not realize that the Communists only tolerate protests and demonstrations against American nuclear tests. Soviet nuclear tests are quite all right according to the Communists. Two Japanese newspapermen, who were present when the students were arrested, were also arrested and their cameras confiscated. On September 21, 1962, "Tokyo Yomiuri" carried an account in English of the arrest and the activities in the Soviet Union by the Zengakuren delegation, written by Hitoshi Nemoto, the chairman of Zengakuren, who was himself one of those arrested. According to Nemoto, on August 5, while they were in Moscow, they heard over the radio that the Soviet Union had resumed nuclear bomb tests. The next day Nemoto and two other young people from Zengakuren put up a banner near the wall of the Kremlin and began giving out leaflets. Immediately a group of people converged upon them shouting "fascists." Nemoto said, "We tried to struggle hard against them but we were captured after a few minutes." The police arrested them and held them over 2 hours. They kept calling them fascists and questioned them as to why they should give out leaflets in opposition to Soviet nuclear tests.

The young Japanese then went to Leningrad where they gave their leaflets out at the IUS Congress. A good deal of time was taken up at the Congress in attacking the Japanese representatives. At one point a West African student delegate pointed out that they had no right to distribute leaflets because "the possession of a printing press is prohibited in the Soviet Union." During the debates, one of the Zengakuren representatives had the opportunity to speak and attacked the position of Communist China and of Soviet Premier Khrushchev on the question of Soviet nuclear testing.

He spoke in Japanese, while another delegate translated into English. The Communist Chairman remarked after his speech, "I

am very grateful to Zengakuren that the Japanese was so brief. Unfortunately, however, it was the English that was so lengthy." The implication being that Zengakuren was a stooge of the United States. In fact it is violently anti-United States but had only criticized Soviet nuclear testing.

The attitude of the Japanese students was extremely distasteful to the Communist organizers of the Congress. As a result, Zengakuren may not be welcome at future IUS Congresses or in other activities to be held by the Communist youth apparatus in Europe or Asia.

A special session of the IUS Congress was held to "condemn recent U.S. attacks on Cuba." During the violent anti-American speeches, an African delegate jumped up and demanded that a demonstration be organized in front of the U.S. Consulate in Leningrad. He sat down quietly when the Soviet delegates advised him that there is no American Consulate in Leningrad.

IUS is heartily in favor of the Castro government. On October 23, 1962, during the height of the crisis caused by the placing of Soviet missiles in Cuba, Jiri Pelikan, President of the IUS, made a broadcast over Havana television. He said,

Dear Cuban friends, Your country, as well as the whole world, is passing through a very serious situation. This situation has been caused by new aggressive acts of the U.S. Government. I would like for you to see in the presence of the various delegations in your country the symbol that all students of the world are on your side in this difficult moment. Again, in the face of the whole world, U.S. imperialism has unmasked itself as the aggressive force menacing world peace. These facts cannot be hidden by any false accusations as done by President Kennedy. It is completely nonsense to accuse the Cuban people—the Cuban Government—of menacing the security of the United States or of the Western Hemisphere. We in Europe know of similar procedures from the past. The leader of Fascist Germany, Hitler, also accused Czechoslovakia, in 1938, of menacing the peace in Europe in order to occupy Czechoslovakia and, later on, other European countries.

But the whole world knows that Cuba is not menacing anybody. We have seen that the Cuban people want friendly relations with all countries of the world. The Cuban revolution wants to develop the economy and culture for the benefit of the Cuban people. But international imperialists are afraid of the visible successes of the Cuban people. They are afraid that these successes will set a great example for all oppressed peoples of the world. Therefore they want to crush by all means the Cuban revolution and its advance. This is not possible because the Cuban people are united around the revolutionary government under the leadership of the great hero of all peoples of the world, Fidel Castro.

On the side of the Cuban people are all the democratic, progressive, and honest people of the world. Therefore, dear Cuban friends, we are convinced that this new attempt of American imperialism will fail, as all its previous attempts.

I would like to use the occasion to congratulate you for your great revolutionary enthusiasm which we have seen in these days in Havana. I would like to assure you, dear Cuban friends, that we are firmly on your side. We are ready to share with you, not only the enjoyment of your successes but also to share with you all difficulties connected with the fight and, if necessary, to fight shoulder to shoulder with you against the common enemy for the defense of the Cuban revolution which is the defense of freedom in the whole world. The students of the whole world together with you, and stronger than ever before, repeat your very famous slogan: "Fatherland or Death, We Will Win!"

IUS and WFDY both publish magazines. The IUS magazine is called World Student News. It appears every month in Arabic, English, French, Russian, and Spanish. The chief editor is Mazen Hussein of Jordan. The Editorial Board consists of Helmut Boehm (East Germany), Georgi Danilov (U.S.S.R.), and German Leyens (Chile).

World Student News frequently carries articles and letters from Americans. They are usually American Communists, but are never so identified. World Student News, Nos. 9-10, 1962, carried an article on American education by Danny Rubin, National Youth Director of the Communist Party, U.S.A. WSN No. 5, 1962, contained a letter by Bettina Aptheker of Brooklyn, N.Y. She wrote a highly emotional and fictionalized account of the March 3, 1962, demonstration in Times Square against United States nuclear testing. Miss Aptheker is the daughter of Herbert Aptheker, Communist Party, U.S.A., theoretician and National Committee member. She has been the teenage director of the New York Communist youth group Advance. Miss Aptheker recently transferred her Communist Party membership to California, where she is attending college.

World Federation of Democratic Youth publishes a magazine called World Youth which appears monthly in Hungarian, Polish, Rumanian, and Russian, and bimonthly in French, English, German, and Swedish. The Director is Rolf Weissbach of East Germany, and the Editor-in-Chief is Shun Nishizawa of Japan, a member of the Japanese Communist Party and the Secretariat of WFDY. The Editorial Board consists of Andre Gouillou of France, Tom Jala of Canada, N'Diongue Babacar of Senegal, Govinda Pillai of India, Martin Schumann of East Germany, Feodor Tarassov of the U.S.S.R., and Karin Yttergren of Sweden. Until recently Luis Bayardo of Venezuela was also on the Editorial Board. "World Youth" No. 3 carried an article by Albert Kahn who was identified as an American journalist. They neglected to mention that for many years he has been a member of the Communist Party, U.S.A. Mr. Kahn's article concerned the Negro problem in the United States. The article also appeared in the Russian language edition of World Youth, Nos. 5-6, 1962, which decorated it with pictures of demonstrations and violence in the United States.

NON-COMMUNIST STUDENT ORGANIZATION

The non-Communist answer to the International Union of Students and World Student News is the "International Student Conference" (ISC) and its administrative arm, the "Coordinating Secretariat of National Unions of Students" (COSEC). They are Western oriented, and do not include any Iron Curtain student organizations. COSEC's magazine is called the Student. Its issue of February-March 1962 could almost have been an IUS publication. It contained a pro-Algerian nationalist article by an official of the French National Union of Students (UNEF) which participates in IUS activities, as well as attacks on the Union of South Africa, Katanga, and Portugal. While some mention was made of the plight of Hungarian student refugees, no mention was made of Cuban student refugees. In fact, only "Batista's Cuba" was criticized—not Castro's. They point out, however, that students from Haiti and Nicaragua are studying in Cuba, due to the "oppressive nature" of their own governments.

Recently, attempts have been made by IUS to organize joint activities with COSEC, with the intention of eventually "uniting the international student movement."

Chapter II. THE WORLD YOUTH FESTIVALS

The first six World Youth Festivals were held behind the Iron Curtain. The first in Prague, Czechoslovakia, in 1947; the second in Budapest, Hungary, in 1949; the third in Berlin, East Germany, 1951; the fourth in Bucharest, Rumania, 1953; the fifth in Warsaw, Poland, 1955; the sixth in Moscow, U.S.S.R., 1957.

All these six youth festivals were openly organized by the World Federation of Democratic Youth and the International Union of Students. After the Moscow Festival, N. Mesyatsev, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Young Communist League of the Soviet Union, said in Komsomolskaya Pravda of August 14, 1958:

With each new festival, fresh millions of young men and women from all the continents of the globe flow into the ranks of the World Federation of Democratic Youth and the International Union of Students.

The leader of the British delegation to the festival, John Moss, who was also Secretary of the British Young Communist League, said in the London Daily Worker of August 17, 1957:

The Sixth World Youth Festival has been a far greater victory for peace and friendship between the youth of the world than even its most optimistic supporters had hoped and worked for * * * the festival can open up a new era in the Peace movement among Britain's youth.

He went on to say of the delegates:

Many of them, I am sure, will join the Young Communist League as a result of the success of the festival and their experiences. They will be welcomed with open arms, as both the development of the Peace movement and the spreading of socialist ideas among the young workers in Britain depend on a bigger and stronger Young Communist league * * *

One hundred and forty-one delegates went from the United States, to attend the Sixth World Youth Festival. Of these 41 subsequently defied State Department regulations and visited Communist China. A considerable amount of propaganda was made by the Communists all over the world about the fact that young Americans had defied their own Government to visit Communist China.

The Seventh and Eighth Festivals were held outside the Iron Curtain, and a pretense was made that they were broad, open Festivals—open to all young people regardless of political beliefs. The Seventh Festival was held in Vienna, Austria, in 1959, and the Eighth in Helsinki, Finland, in 1962.

VIENNA FESTIVAL

The slogan of the Austrian young people during the Vienna Festival was "Festival without us." They insisted that it was an alien Festival that had been brought in by the International Communist movement and had no support among the people of Austria. This was quite evident to anyone who attended the Festival. All over

the streets were posters put up by the various youth organizations in opposition to the Festival. They ranged from right-wing Catholic organizations to left-wing Socialist groups. Only the tiny Communist Party of Austria supported the World Youth Festival. The Communist Party of Austria had an estimated membership of 50,000. In the elections of May 10, 1959, it had polled only 3.3 percent of the total vote, and the Communists lost the three seats in Parliament that they had previously held, and in 1959 had no parliamentary seats at all.

Austrian hatred of Communism is not unusual. The people of Austria had suffered under the Red Army, which occupied part of their country until 1954. In addition, Austria shares a common border with Hungary, and its people remembered well the rape of Hungary only 2 years before.

When the Communists announced that Austria would be the site of the youth Festival, they were met with active opposition from all the Austrian youth organizations. All during the Festival leaflets attacking Communism were printed in every language of the world and distributed to the delegates. Three airplanes flew over the Festival grounds, running streamers behind them "Remember Hungary," "Remember Tibet," "Festival without us." Twelve information booths were set up around the city of Vienna to distribute anti-Communist literature to the Festival delegates.

The Austrian newspapers boycotted the Festival. Instead of carrying Festival news, they joined in publishing a daily newspaper for the Festival delegates in Russian, English, German, Czech, Hungarian, and a number of other languages. It carried the truth about Communism to the delegates, particularly those from behind the Iron Curtain. As a result, distributors of this newspaper, The Vienna Daily News, were beaten up by Communist hoodlums whenever they appeared.

The Austrian youth and student organizations issued factual accounts of the Festival finances which showed that millions of dollars had flowed in from the Soviet Union to pay for the Festival. They also identified those who led the Festival and published their Communist Party backgrounds. Every bookstore in Vienna, except the Communist stores, featured displays of anti-Communist books in various languages. These included: "Dr. Zhivago," "Animal Farm," "1984," "The God That Failed," and "The New Class." In addition, copies of these books were available to anti-Communists to distribute free to the Festival delegates in their own languages. While the Government of Austria was officially neutral on the question of the Festival, it was apparent that the Austrian people were not. They were vehemently against the Festival, and they took every opportunity to show this.

The Austrian Communists helped set up the Festival apparatus but, unfortunately for them, there was an insufficient number of young Austrian Communists to supply "goon squads." As a result, thousands of Italian Young Communists were brought over to help "man the barricades." In addition, the Iraqi and Algerian Young Communists maintained goon squads to take care of the delegates from the Afro-Asian countries, while the Cuban Young Communists pro-

vided the "goon squads" to keep the Latin American delegates away from any "tainted information" that might "tend to confuse them about the festival."

Each delegation was provided with an Austrian Communist "interpreter." These were provided by the Communist Austrian Peace Council. The "interpreters" actually ran each of the delegations and gave the orders whenever that was necessary. The man in charge of providing the "interpreters" was an Austrian Communist named Heinrich Brandweiner. He was President of the Austrian Peace Council and a member of the Communist World Peace Council, as well as an official of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, another Communist front. Brandweiner has been a guest in Red China as well as in North Korea, and was one of the leaders in promoting the Communist germ warfare charges against the United States. Brandweiner is also a holder of the Lenin Peace Prize. He was not always a Communist, however. On May 1, 1938, less than 6 weeks after Hitler invaded Austria, Brandweiner joined the Nazi Party and held Nazi Party membership book No. 6236254.

To support a pretense that the Festival was not organized by the World Federation of Democratic Youth and the International Union of Students, an International Preparatory Committee was established to run it. It was no coincidence that all the leaders of the International Preparatory Committee held leadership positions in the International Union of Students and the World Federation of Democratic Youth. The Austrian student and youth organizations revealed the backgrounds of many of the people who were active in the Preparatory Committee. A number of them were middle aged, some had served the Communist international youth apparatus for many years. However, an effort was made to keep secret the name of the American member of the Preparatory Committee. None of the American delegates, except perhaps the Communist leaders, were told his name. It was revealed accidentally through publication in the German language edition of the WFDY magazine World Youth. The American delegate was Holland Roberts, a member of the American Communist Party who was over 60 years old and had taught school in the United States in 1918. The Austrian member of the International Preparatory Committee was 46-year-old Walter Wachs, an official of the Austrian Communist Party.

When the American delegation—almost 400 young people—arrived in Vienna, they realized that the non-Communists outnumbered the pro-Communists by more than 2 to 1. They demanded that an election be held for chairman of the American delegation. The Communists refused. They insisted that Marvin Markman, a young student from City College in New York, was the delegation chairman and that no election could take place. Markman has since been identified as a Communist Party member. The majority of the delegates did have their election. The Communists walked out and, during the entire Festival, the American delegation was refused recognition because the hand-picked Communist chairman could not take his seat as the International Preparatory Committee demanded. As a result, many of the young Americans who attended the Festival realized that this was not a Festival "for peace and friendship" as the organizers claimed, but was in fact a Communist propaganda show.

EXHIBIT 1

UNITED STATES FESTIVAL COMMITTEE

246 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 1, N. Y. MU 4-4550

NATIONAL STAFF

Chairman, Marvin Markman
Executive Secretary, Joanne Grant
Cultural Coordinator, William McAdoo

NATIONAL COUNCIL

Evelyn Crawford
San Francisco
Michael Folson
Antioch College
Berkeley, Calif.
Iris Greenberg
University of Wisconsin
Robert Kaufman
Los Angeles
Alan McGowan
New York
Lorraine Nawacki
Detroit
Leona Osterweil
Newark, N. J.
Mark Shafer
Portland, Ore.
Walter South II
Cambridge, Mass.



VIENNA

JULY 26-AUGUST 4, 1959

Letter head of the United States Festival Committee for the Vienna Festival in 1959.

EXHIBIT 2

REPORT

U.S.F.C.

The elected representatives of the United States Festival Committee have been negotiating with the American Youth Festival Organization in an attempt to end the destructive split among us. The net results of these negotiations are the following:

The AYFO has refused to join in a united meeting unless all of the following conditions are met.

- A. Meeting must be held today at 8:00 A.M., irrespective of the fact that the U.S. - Soviet Delegation meeting is to be held at 8:45 A.M.
- B. The AYFO would accept only Ken Dove as chairman of the meeting.
- C. The meeting must be open to the press.
- D. The election of a leadership consisting of two New York, two Chicago, and four at large members.

We want a united delegation meeting! The welfare of the Americans at the Festival demands it. We suggest only these guarantees:

- A. The credentials of all participants must be checked against the lists.
- B. Any individual elected to a post must agree in writing to make no statements or decisions of a political character for or in the name of the American group.
- C. The chairman of the meeting must be agreed upon by both negotiating committees.
- D. No press or photographers at the meeting.

The leadership of AYFO has done nothing to assist in administrative work here in Vienna. They have concerned themselves entirely with hindering the organizing of U.S. participation in the Festival.

Under these conditions, the 8:00 A.M. meeting can only lead to further disorganization and division. We came to this Festival to meet with people from other lands. At 8:45 A.M. we will gather in front of the U.S.A. pavilion for our meeting with the Soviet Delegation. All are Invited.

Marvin Markman
Althea Sims
Paul Robeson Jr.
Alan McGowan

Statement issued by the pro-Communist minority of the U.S. delegation in Vienna insisting that the press must be barred at joint meetings of the two factions. Robeson, Markman and McGowan are all identified Communist Party members.

The Communists would not allow any non-Communist opinion voiced. Delegates were beaten up for being seen reading anti-Communist literature. During one of the parades, a number of American and British delegates were beaten by Communist hoodlums for putting up signs "Remember Hungary" and "Remember Tibet"; but all through the parade were pro-Communist political signs.

Although the pretense was made that the Festival was not being run by the World Federation of Democratic Youth, Pyotr Reshetov, a leader of the Soviet Young Communist League (Komsomol), writing in November 1961 about the work of the WFDY, said:

A special place in the Federation's activities is occupied by the World Youth and Student Festivals, which have become a fine tradition. The tremendous importance of these Festivals in the struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence is best demonstrated by the Seventh Festival which was held last year in Vienna, the first world youth gathering to be held in a capitalist state. In Vienna two opposing ideologies clashed head on. The enemies of cooperation among the youth, of peace and friendship among nations, attempted to poison the atmosphere of the Vienna pageant and to sow discord among the young people of different countries. Several times more money was spent for subversive, anti-Festival activities than the cost of the Festival itself, but the enemies' efforts were in vain and the Festival was a success.—(From a press release of the U.S.S.R. Embassy, Washington, Nov. 8, 1960.)

FIRST LATIN-AMERICAN YOUTH CONGRESS

Two important international Communist events took place after the Seventh Youth Festival. The first of these, in July 1960, was the First Latin-American Youth Congress held in Cuba. At this Congress Young Communists from all Latin America came together to give praise to the Fidel Castro regime. In addition, Young Communists from all over the world came to participate. After the Congress, hundreds of the delegates went to the Sierra Maestra Mountains to help build a Communist training school. Among those who participated in the construction work were American Young Communists who had come to Cuba to attend the conference. The following were the Cuban organizers of the Congress:

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL PREPARATORY COMMITTEE FOR THE CONGRESS OF YOUTH OF LATIN AMERICA

Dr. Carlos Olivares Sánchez, Movimiento Revolucionario, 26 de Julio.	President.
Sr. Ricardo Alarcón, Federacion Estudiantil Universitaria.	First Vice President.
Sr. Agustín Giralte, Secretaria de Juventudes de la Confederacion de Trabajadores de Cuba (CTC).	Second Vice President.
Sr. Francisco Domínguez, Asociacion Campesina "Frank Pais".	Third Vice President.
Sr. Manuel Payán Viego, Directorio Revolucionario, 13 de Marzo.	Secretary of Organization.
Srta. Lourdes Regato, Congreso de Mujeres Cubanas.	Recording Secretary.
Commandante Joel Iglesias, Asociacion de Jovenes Rebeldes.	Financial Secretary.
Sr. Antonio Carcedo, Juventud Socialista.....	Secretary of Propaganda.

EXHIBIT 3

Map Showing the Development of People's Armed Struggle And Youth Movement for National Liberation in Latin America



Drawn by Chu Yu-lien

Map printed in the April 1963 issue of Evergreen, published by the All-China Youth Federation and All-China Students' Federation, 3 Yu Ho Chiao, Peking, China. This official Red Chinese map shows the location of the Communist youth and student movements, and the areas in which Communist instigated armed insurrections are taking place in Latin America.

SECOND LATIN AMERICAN YOUTH CONGRESS

According to information obtained by the Cuban Student Directory and the Christian Democratic Youth of Cuba (both anti-Castro Cuban organizations), the Second Latin American Youth Congress will be held in Santiago, Chile, in March 1964. President of the Preparatory Committee is the Chilean Socialist, Sergio Barria. The key post of secretary is held by the Argentinian Communist, Alvarado.

An important source of funds and political support for the Congress is the Communist-dominated labor organization of Chile, CUTCH (Central Univa de Trabajadores de Chile—Single Center of Chilean Workers). CUTCH was represented on the Preparatory Committee of the congress by the young Communist, Ludwing. On February 2-3, 1963, 180 delegates attended the National Trade Union Conference of the Communist Party of Chile. The main report was given by Luis Figueroa, Secretary of CUTCH and member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Chile.

The Cuban Student Directory has released the text of a top secret letter intercepted by them, from Pyotr Reshetov, member of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Young Communist League of the Soviet Union, to Aldo Alvarez, member of the National Leadership of the Young Communist League of Cuba. The letter contained instructions from the Soviet to the Cuban young Communists on the organization of the Second Latin American Youth Congress.

In February 1963, the Congress Preparatory Committee issued a statement calling for "more vigorous support to the Cuban revolution" and ordered its supporters to—

fight in solid unity against U.S. imperialism, the deadly enemy to progress, freedom and democracy, and against its allies in various Latin American countries.

WORLD YOUTH FORUM

In July and August 1961, Young Communists from all over the world met in Moscow at a World Youth Forum. Those non-Communists who attended found their points of view suppressed, while the Communists used their names as a cover to pretend that the World Youth Forum was not a Communist-dominated operation. The main theme of the World Youth Forum was, as usual, peace and friendship, but a good portion of its activities were devoted to attacks on the United States and praise for the Soviet Union as a leader of the peace-loving countries. Six Americans attended the World Youth Forum. Four of these were members of the Communist Party, U.S.A. These were: Jacob Meyer Stein (also known as Mike Stein) and his wife, Anne Stein; David Buxenbaum and his wife, Alva Buxenbaum. In addition, Conrad Cohen, representing the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, a Communist front, and Prof. Irwin Abrams, of Antioch College, Ohio, representing the Americans Friends Service Committee, a non-Communist, pacifist, Quaker organization, attended. The following persons, some non-Communist, attended the October 1960 Moscow meeting to prepare the World Youth Forum. Those marked with an asterisk (*) are known Communists.

	Delegates	Organizations
Albania.....	*Lekan Shkurti.....	Union of Working Youth.
Algeria.....	*Ben Aoufi Abdelhafidh.....	General Union of Moslem Algerian Students (UGEMA).
Australia.....	Anderson Geoffrey Ronald..... Norma Chalmers.....	NSW Peace Committee. Queensland Peace Committee for International Cooperation and Disarmament.
Austria.....	*Sperl Friedrich.....	Free Austrian Youth (FOeJ).
Belgium.....	*Levaux Marcel..... *Dewit Alexis.....	Communist Youth. Do.
Bolivia.....	Oscar Zamora M.....	National Union of Students.
Brazil.....	Marcos Correia Lins.....	National Union of Students of Brazil (UNEB).
Bulgaria.....	*Abadjiev Ivan..... *Pavlov Lubin..... *Slavtchev Piotr.....	Dimitrov Youth Union. Do. Do.
Cambodia.....	*Kem-Nhim.....	Royal Cambodian Socialist Youth.
Canada.....	*Tom Morris (also known as Thomas Jala).	Young Communist League of Canada.
Ceylon.....	*Ratnaweera..... Ratne Deshapriya Senanayake..... Hemachandra Perera..... Raschid Shahhamid Mohammed Abdel. Chandra Gunasekera.....	Congress of Communist and Progressive Youth Leagues. Sri Lanka Freedom Party Youth League. Ceylon University Student Council. Ceylon Moor Youth League. All-Island Congress of Sama Semaj Youth Leagues.
Communist China.....	*Wang Chao Hwa..... *Chu Liang..... *Li Shu Tsien..... *Hwa Chong..... *Chu Shan-Ching.....	All-China Youth Federation. Do. Do. Interpreter. Do.
Cuba.....	*Oscar Fernandez Padilla..... *Fernando Ravelo Renedo..... *Jerardo Figueras Larrazabal..... *Omar Roca.....	Juventud Socialista (JS) Communist Youth. ¹ Association of Young Rebels. ¹ 26 of July Revolutionary Movement. Federation of University Students (FEU).
Cyprus.....	*Ioannis Avraam.....	United Democratic Youth Organization (EDON).
Czechoslovakia.....	*Piatnica Imrich..... *Bicevar Ivan..... *Tomasova Miluse..... *Smidh Tove.....	Czechoslovak Youth Union (CSM). Do. Do.
Denmark.....	*Emanuel Poul Henning.....	Children's International Summer Villages (CISV).
Finland.....	Tomsen..... *Tiekso Anna-Liisa.....	Communist Youth League of Denmark (DKJ). "Jeunes pedagogues."
France.....	*Teivainen Lauri..... *Laurent Paul..... Gaudez Pierre.....	Finnish-Soviet Union. Communist Youth Movement. French National Union of Students (UNEF).
Germany (East).....	*Hadey Jean Jacques..... *Werner Lamberz.....	French Council of Youth Movements. Free German Youth (FDJ).
Germany (West).....	*Rolf Weisbach..... *Dieter Koniecki..... *Polikeit Georg.....	Do. Liberal Student Union. Journalist.
Ghana.....	*Jacob Stanley Stephens.....	Ghana Youth Council.
Great Britain.....	*James Reed.....	Young Communist League British Youth Festival Committee.
Greece.....	Irene Jacoby.....	Young Quakers.
Guatemala.....	*Kakoyanis Athanassios.....	(Deputy) Youth of the EDA Party.
Guinea.....	*Roldan Leonel..... *Camara Boubarcar.....	Communist Youth. Jeunesse du Rassemblement Democratique Africain-JRDA (Youth of the Democratic Assembly).
Honduras.....	*Kourouma Laje.....	Do.
Hungary.....	*Jobal Valerio H..... *Komocsin Zoltan.....	University Reform Front. Communist Youth Organization of Hungary (KISZ).
India.....	*Perjest Laszlo..... *Kolonic Lajos..... *Csaba Ferenc..... Mitra Sarada..... Lakshman Singh..... Asthana R. K..... Harish Chandra.....	Do. Do. Do. Do. All-India Youth Federation (AIYF). Do. Federation of Indian Youth (FIY). Do.

¹ Juventud Socialista (JS) Communist Youth and Association of Young Rebels now merged into Young Communist League.

20 COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL YOUTH AND STUDENT APPARATUS

	Delegates	Organizations
Indonesia.....	*Margono..... Sufyar..... M. Munasir..... Mohamed Said Boedary.....	"Pemuda Rakjat" (People's Youth). "Pemuda Demokrat" (Democratic Youth). G. P. Ansor. Pergerakan Mahasiswa (Islam Indonesia).
Iraq.....	*Khusrow Tawfik..... *Kamal Assad.....	Iraqi Federation of Democratic Youth. General Union of Students in the Iraqi Republic (GUSIR).
Israel.....	*George Toubl..... *Zippora Sharoni..... Pelleg Dov..... Mario Bariona..... Diop Ousmane.....	Young Communist League. Do. MAPAM. Italian Socialist Youth. African Youth League.
Italy.....	*Nishizawa.....	Democratic Youth League of Japan.
Ivory Coast.....	*Ko San Zun.....	Union of Democratic Youth of Korea.
Japan.....	Ed Batal Georges.....	Lebanese Youth League.
Korea (North).....	Awab Abdelkader.....	Moroccan Working Youth.
Lebanon.....	*Purevjav.....	Mongolian Revolutionary Youth Union.
Morocco.....	*Piun.....	Do.
Mongolia.....	*Chunjav.....	Do.
The Netherlands.....	Bootsma Gosse A..... Brinkman Harmen Jan..... Bultje Catrien.....	Niederlandische Christliche Studentenunion. Do. General Netherlands Youth Movement.
Nicaragua.....	Hernan Solorzano T.....	Centro Universitario Universidad Nacional. Do.
Norway.....	William Aguilar.....	Young Communist League.
Poland.....	*Svensson Per..... *Marian Renke..... *Irena Madrowska..... *Adam Kruczkowski..... *Czeslaw Wisniewski.....	Committee of Cooperation of Polish Youth Organizations—Union of Socialist Youth Committee (ZMS). Do. Committee; Association of Students for the U.N. Committee; Association of Polish Students (ZSP). Do.
Rumania.....	*Wladyslaw Cepulis..... *Trofin Virgil..... *Roman Neculae..... *Florea Vasile.....	Union of Rumanian Working Youth (UTM). Do. Do. Do.
Senegal.....	Diop Abdou-Cogne..... Diop M'Baye-Jacques.....	RJDA. Senegal Youth Movement.
Somali.....	Yusuf Ali Haroon.....	Somali General Student Union.
Sweden.....	Lars Karlsson..... *Fred Marklund..... Harry Fahlerantz..... George Engstrom..... Jan Erik Goransson..... Gunilla Thimansson..... Bror Liljefeldt..... Per-Anders Horling..... Nilsson Bertil..... *Bo Dahlstrom..... Abdelaziz Ben Nejma.....	Youth Peace Committee, Southern Division. Demokratisk Ungdom (DU—Union of Democratic Youth). SSU Katarina. KFUM (YMCA). Youth Peace Committee, Southern Division, SSU Katarina. SSU Katarina. Youth Council Katarina (YMCA). CLARTE. Sofia Youth Council. D.U. General Union of Tunisian Students (UGET).
Tunisia.....	Kooli..... Hussein Montasser..... Nora R. Booth..... Seybold John W.....	Neo-Destour Youth. Supreme Council of Youth and Sport. American Friends Service Committee. Do.
United Arab Republic.....	*P. Reshetov.....	Committee of Youth Organizations (CYO) of the U.S.S.R. Do. Do. Do. Do. Do. Do. Do. Do.
U.S.A.....	*S. Pavlov..... *Y. Voronov..... *G. Demirtchoglan..... *A. Zitmanis..... *F. Yessieva..... *E. Maksimova..... *V. Shevtchenko..... Teodoro Petkoff.....	Do. Do. Do. Do. Do. Do. Do. Do.
U.S.S.R.....	*Le Binh..... *Do-Van-Hen..... *Huynh Trong Hoang..... *Piero Pieralli..... *Christian Echard..... *Jiri Pelikan..... Paul Moritz..... Ulrich Kohler.....	Central University Federation. Union of Working Youth of Vietnam. Federation of Vietnamese Youth. Do. World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY). Do. International Union of Students (IUS). International Student Movement for the U.N. (ISMUN). Do.
Venezuela.....		
Vietnam.....		
International organizations.....		

A "message" was issued by the Forum participants, which completely followed the Communist line. The voice of the few non-Communist participants was not heard. The message reads as follows:

MESSAGE TO WORLD YOUTH FROM THE WORLD YOUTH FORUM

Young people! Friends! We, the representatives of youth organizations from all corners of the globe, have gathered at the World Forum in Moscow. We were drawn to this meeting by the feeling of responsibility for the destinies of the young generation of the mid-20th century. Without concealing our political views, in an honest and frank discussion on all questions we have arrived at the firm conviction that despite differences in views the problems discussed at the Forum have primary importance for every one of us, and that we can find a common way to their solution.

We strive for a lasting world peace. To achieve it, it is necessary to make independence for all the peoples a reality, to end colonialism, to ensure peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems, and to realize universal complete, and controlled disarmament.

Mankind has never known rest from wars in the entire history of its existence. In our age alone imperialism has drawn mankind into monstrous wars that took the toll of dozens of millions of lives. And today the fire of war kindled by the colonialists and maintained by their henchmen and sponsors is blazing in Algeria, Angola, Congo, Tunisia, and other parts of our planet, threatening to develop into a world atomic war. The unsettled issue of Germany and West Berlin is fraught with tremendous danger for world peace. We have no right to wait for a world war to flare up. We must be vigilant. Our reason and our conscience demands action, the pooling of our efforts in order to raise an insurmountable wall in the way of those who are preparing a world shambles.

We are not only fully conscious of the need to struggle for peace but we know that the younger generation together with all peoples have all the possibilities and strength to avert a world war, to exclude it from the life of society. We must all do our best to insure peace on earth.

Peaceful coexistence can and must become the only form of relation between countries with different social and economic systems.

The establishing of relations of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems on the basis of the right of peoples to self-determination, abolishing colonialism in all its forms and manifestations, putting an end to any imperialist interference in the internal affairs of other countries, and universal, complete and controlled disarmament are the main conditions for a lasting world peace.

The struggle for peace and disarmament, for peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems, is closely and directly connected with the liberation fight of peoples against colonialism and all forms of imperialist oppression, with the more and more active struggle of the popular masses in many countries against fascism and militarism, against colonialist policy, for democracy and progress. All this is the struggle against imperialism, for world peace.

Our conscience, our feelings, are burning with anger and hatred of racialism and discrimination, the most abominable manifestation of colonialism.

All people irrespective of color of skin, walks of life, and level of economic and cultural development, have a natural right to a free and independent existence. We vigorously condemn any attempt to suppress with arms the strivings of the peoples for freedom and independent development. We condemn the aggressive interference of imperialism in the internal affairs of countries, the establishing of military bases, and the occupation of territories for military purposes against the will of the inhabitants, as in Cuba, Laos, Tunisia, western Iran, People's China and South Korea. We condemn these aggressive actions which endanger world peace and encroach on the legitimate right of peoples to self-determination. All the young people of the world approve the principle of noninterference and respect for national sovereignty of all the peoples and their right to decide their own destiny.

Colonialism and all other forms of suppressing other peoples must be abolished once and for all.

We are strongly against the yoke of colonialism being imposed under the guise of rendering "assistance." Many nations are still oppressed by foreign monopolies which rob their national riches, impose economic dependence, and keep them in backwardness. These monopolies install and support antidemocratic and antinational governments.

22 COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL YOUTH AND STUDENT APPARATUS

We welcome the peoples and the youth of Africa, Asia, and Latin America, who, in stubborn and difficult struggle, have achieved freedom and national independence, and are confidently building a new life.

The arms race aggravates international tension and threatens world peace. That is why we, the young people of the world, demand universal, complete, and controlled disarmament. We demand, that all the military bases on foreign territories must be abolished!

We consider it our responsibility to see to it that young people the world over should be brought up in the spirit of humanism, in the spirit of hatred of fascism and racialism, in the spirit of loyalty to democracy and progress.

The U.N. must insure peaceful coexistence and the realization of decisions on the end of colonialism, on universal, complete and controlled disarmament. The U.N. structure and activities must reflect the great changes which have taken place all over the world.

Modern culture and scientific progress have made the new generation more conscious of its essential rights. In many countries the right to democratic liberties, the right to work and human conditions of work, to equal pay for equal work without discrimination on the basis of race, age or sex, the right of those who cultivate the land to possess it, the right to free and democratic education, to paid holidays, to a home worthy of man, to health services, possibilities for recreation and for sports, are still unsolved problems. The solution of these problems is our common cause, is the concern of the entire younger generation, of all the people of the world. This is another argument in favor of solidarity, of uniting our efforts in the struggle for our rights.

We demand that the rights of youth be insured everywhere!

The time has come when the young people of the world must unite their efforts. Bridges of friendship must span the gulf of mistrust, lack of understanding, and at times even hostility, which unfortunately still divides our countries.

Even now, at a period of the greatest international tension, the young people of different countries found a common language and ways for cooperation. Congresses, assemblies, conferences, festivals, meetings, discussions, seminars held on a national, regional and international scale, exchange of delegations, tourists, cultural groups, sportsmen, students, exhibitions, literature, films and not least our World Forum—these are various forms of cooperation that help to overcome prejudices in relations between different countries and different organizations.

With determination and hope we appeal to you, the young people of the world, to strengthen the unity of your ranks, to develop international cooperation in every way.

Our world, our future, must not be marred by war, colonialism and imperialism, inequality, hunger, disease, illiteracy and poverty. We shall not grow tired in our struggle and we shall triumph. We are proud of our duty and shall fulfill it to the end.

Dear friends, let us mobilize ourselves widely to distribute this message.

Collect signatures under this message, make your demands and opinions known to the governments and parliaments. Organize meetings of youth in your countries and continents to discuss your problems.

Young people! Join your voice to our voices.

HELSINKI FESTIVAL

In the summer of 1962, the Eighth World Youth Festival took place in Helsinki, Finland. Once again the Festival was held in a country where there was active opposition to it from the overwhelming majority of the people of the host country, and the overwhelming majority of the youth and students.

Modern Finland has only been an independent state since December 6, 1917. It had been a part of the Czarist Russian Empire until the collapse of that Empire in April of 1917. A bitter civil war took place between the Finnish patriots and Finnish Communists, who wished to be associated with the new Soviet Union after November 1917. The Finnish "whites" won and an independent Finland has since existed. During World War II, Finland was twice at war with the Soviet Union—first during the winter of 1939 and 1940, and then in 1941 to 1944. Although tremendous losses were sustained by the Finns,

most of the country was saved. More than 80,000 Finnish men were killed, and every ninth citizen of Finland was homeless. Every 16th man was a permanently disabled veteran, every 17th woman a war widow, every 25th child a war orphan. Finland had to give up to the Soviet Union, as a result of the war, one-tenth of her territory. More than 400,000 people who had lived in that area were taken into the rest of Finland and given homes and jobs.

This experience has not left Finland with a friendly attitude toward the Soviet Union. During the winter war of 1939-40, the Soviet Propaganda Ministry announced that an independent Finnish government had been established in the territory that had been "liberated" by the Red Army. This Finnish government was to control all of Finland when the entire country had been "liberated." As chairman of the government, the Soviets announced, they had designated Otto Kuusinen. This was the same Otto Kuusinen who, in 1935, at the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, had explained the use of young people by the Communists for the purpose of overthrowing their own governments in the event of a war with the Soviet Union. The Red Army did not succeed in "liberating" all of Finland and Kuusinen was recalled to Moscow. He is now a member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and holds Soviet citizenship. Herta Kuusinen, Otto's daughter, remains in Finland as head of the Communist Party's parliamentary delegation. The Communist Party holds 47 of Finland's 200 parliamentary seats. It has an estimated membership in Finland of 40,000. Despite this small membership the Communists cast over half a million votes in the election of 1962. The 47 seats that they secured in 1962 made them the second largest party in the Parliament.

The largest party is the Agrarian Party. As part of a coalition with a number of other smaller parties, the Agrarian Party dominates the Government. It is anti-Communist and anti-Soviet, but it takes an extremely conciliatory attitude toward the gigantic power next door. As a result of Soviet pressures, Finland has frequently been forced to make major concessions to the Communists.

The third largest party, the Social Democrats, are vehemently anti-Communist and refuse to participate in any way in anything the Communists want done. But a united front of the Communist Party with the Agrarian Party and its followers, frequently forces the people of Finland to make concessions to the Soviet. The Communists counted on this in picking Finland as a Festival site. The experiences that the Communists had in Vienna—the active opposition of the people of Austria to the Festival—persuaded them to hold the Eighth World Festival in an area where they had somewhat more control. Hence the selection of Finland, where, despite the overwhelmingly anti-Communist feelings of the people, they were permitted to hold their youth Festival in Helsinki.

However, when, in October 1960, the Communist President of the World Federation of Democratic Youth, Piero Pieralli, announced in Budapest, Hungary, that the next World Youth Festival would be held in 1962 in Helsinki, the Finns had not yet been approached. A delegation of the International Preparatory Committee went to see the Finnish Prime Minister, and was told that he had no authority to make any arrangements for a Festival in Finland, and that they must

contact the responsible student and youth organizations. These were the Council of Finnish Youth Organizations and the Finnish National Union of Students. When these were visited, they advised the delegation from the Preparatory Committee that they did not wish to participate in a Festival in Finland, nor did they want the Festival to take place in Finland.

In December of 1960, Herta Kuusinen, as Chairman of the Parliamentary delegation of the Communist Party of Finland, made a speech in Helsinki to celebrate the 15th anniversary of the World Federation of Democratic Youth. She said in that speech:

It may be possible to hold the Festival in Finland. Finnish rightwing circles seem to be worried because of this; therefore, it is in order to ask whether their system is so weak that it would collapse if the youth of various countries came here to dance and compete. We would like very much to show our country and inspire the youth of the world to act with increased energy for the cause of peace.

In February of 1961 a meeting of the Consultant Assembly of the International Preparatory Committee of the Eighth World Youth Festival was held in Helsinki. The press was barred from the meeting, as were the representatives of the majority of Finnish youth and students. The few Finns that did participate in the discussions were not representative of the majority of the Finnish people. A Felix Iversen was identified as a professor from the University of Helsinki. A pretense was made that he was actually teaching there. In fact he is the secretary of the matriculation board and has no function as a teacher. Another speaker, Miss Anna-Liisa Piekso, was identified as a member of the Finnish Parliament. It was not pointed out that she was a Communist. All of the speeches were carefully prepared in advance. On one occasion a speaker in Finnish spoke so slowly that the interpreter sometimes got ahead of the speaker.

Despite the Communist pretenses, at no time did the Finnish Government take a position of support for the Festival. Its official position was neutrality in regard to the affair. The position of the student and youth organizations was active opposition. According to an admission of the World Federation of Democratic Youth, the Council of Finnish Youth Organizations represents about a half million young people, whereas the so-called Democratic Youth Union of Finland, that is the Communist youth, has only 30,000 members. The Council of Finnish Youth Organizations opposed the Festival, the Democratic Youth Union supported it. Ninety percent of Finland's students are represented by the National Union of Students. They actively opposed the Festival and asked permission from the Government to set up anti-Festival demonstrations and to publish anti-Festival literature. This was refused. Information booths that were requested by the Social Democratic Youth were refused as well. However, official Festival information booths were allowed to be erected. No anti-Festival posters were permitted of the kind that appeared all over Vienna at the Seventh World Festival. But business associations bought up all available poster space for advertising, thus preventing the Communists from being able to put up their posters.

Pentti Mahlamaki, President of the Finnish National Union of Students, made the following statement on behalf of both his organization and the Council of Finnish Youth Organizations:

Every National Union of Students in the world will make its own decision on whether to participate in the Festival, which will now take place in neutral

Finland. Any individual National Union's decision will be fully respected by SYL (National Union of Students of Finland) as will youth organizations' decisions be fully respected by the Council of Finnish Youth Organizations. What should be clear, however, is that the representative student and youth organizations in Finland will not be cooperating in any way with the Festival. Arrangements in Finland are being made by only one small youth group representing, at most, 10 percent of Finnish youth. In careful consideration of the extraordinary procedures which the Festival organizers have used to bring their event to Finland one questions whether the event can be only the genuine opportunity for international cooperation it purports to be, or whether the Festival, which is for peace and friendship, is not primarily in the service of higher political purposes above the realm of pure student and youth fraternity.

As time went on, however, the Government became more and more conciliatory toward the Festival. Whereas, at first, no housing was to be made available to the Festival delegates by the Government, eventually schools were turned over to the Festival committee to house their delegates. These accommodations were extremely bad with dozens of young people living in the same room and with no washroom or toilet facilities within reasonable walking distance. In some cases hundreds of people had to share the same showers. Iron Curtain delegates, on the other hand, lived aboard the ships that brought them, the Soviets aboard the *Grushia* and the Poles and Germans had ships of their own.

The Soviet Union insisted that one day during the Festival be made Soviet-Finnish Friendship Day and that the Finnish national youth organization and student organization must participate to show their friendship toward the Soviet Union. Both organizations refused participation. But Matti Kekkonen, the son of the President of Finland, appeared as chairman of the organizing committee for the Soviet-Finnish Friendship Day. During the Festival itself, the Finnish young people were prevented by their Government from actively engaging in anti-Communist activity. The students agreed not to distribute anti-Soviet and anti-Communist leaflets and publications. However the Social Democratic students maintained an office from which interested Festival delegates could obtain Socialist literature, some of which was anti-Communist.

The Finnish young people, who deeply hated Communism, and who were prevented by their Government from engaging in legal activities against the Festival, began rioting against it. For four nights, thousands of Finnish young people stoned Festival buses, beat up Festival delegates, and attempted to destroy the Soviet exhibit that was part of the Festival. Police arrested some, clubbed others, and in general broke up the demonstrations. As a result of these demonstrations, however, President Kekkonen, who had refused to participate personally in any Festival activities, did go to a meeting of the Hungarian delegation and apologized for the anti-Festival rioting that had gone on. Thousands of young people had rioted shouting "Free Finland" and "Down with the Festival," "Down with Communism."

The Finnish press, except for the Communist Party newspaper *Kansan Uutiset*, was overwhelmingly opposed to the Festival. Each paper, regardless of its political affiliation, carried editorials attacking the Festival, prior to the time that it took place. During the Festival itself a complete boycott of Festival news was undertaken by the press. They did, however, participate in the publication of a daily newspaper aimed at Festival delegates. There was one difference

between this paper, which was called Helsinki Youth News, and the paper that was put out in Vienna for the delegates to the Seventh Festival. Whereas in Vienna the paper appeared in the languages of the delegates from behind the Iron Curtain, the Finnish paper appeared only in English, French, and Spanish. In order to avoid antagonizing the Soviet Union and the Iron Curtain countries their delegations were not given copies of any publications of an anti-Communist nature.

During the opening day parade, a group of young Cubans representing the Cuban Revolutionary Student Directorate (DRE) perched on top of a Volkswagen bus and raised banners demanding freedom for Cuba. Communist Cuban delegates attacked them and a small riot took place. The leader of the group, Juan Manuel Salvat, the 22-year-old secretary of the DRE, had come to Helsinki with six other young people to plead for the freedom of the 15,000 youth and students imprisoned in Cuba by the Communist regime. Finnish police broke up the fight and two anti-Communist Cubans were held for 2 hours but then released without charges.

Despite the fact that anti-Communist demonstrations were suppressed by the police, they infuriated the Communists. A Finnish Communist, Armas Ekkija, wrote in the Soviet Young Communist League newspaper Komsomolskaya Pravda of August 2, 1962, that the anti-Festivalites were "crazed by alcohol, drunken, venal scum, hired for dollars and Western coins, and are a blot on the good name of our people." Komsomolskaya Pravda also claimed that among the U.S. delegates to the Festival there were "20 spies belonging to the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency and FBI and 50 special agents selected by the U.S. State Department." In a Radio Moscow broadcast, Sergei Pavlov, the First Secretary of the Young Communist League of the Soviet Union, screamed that "the Soviet delegation was indignant at the pranks of the fascist thugs, who were spurred on by people who spoke English and drove about in cars with diplomatic license plates." Observers in Helsinki failed to see the cars or the diplomatic license plates, nor could the Communists provide any of the numbers on these license plates. However, Finnish young people showed their violent opposition to the Festival despite any attitude by their Government which might be viewed as conciliatory toward the Communist Youth Festival.

Among the international Communist agents who were brought into Helsinki to help run the Festival were the following: Otto Ingemar Andersson, a Communist journalist from Sweden, and a former member of the editorial board of World Youth, the magazine of the World Federation of Democratic Youth; Bedrich Barock, Czechoslovak Communist and a representative of the Czechoslovak Youth Union to the World Federation of Democratic Youth Secretariat in Budapest; Maria Theresa Cabello, a Spanish Communist who has been living in Budapest and working at WFDY headquarters; Jose Bezerra Cavalcante, a Brazilian who has worked for the International Union of Students for a number of years; Vladislav G. Shevchenko, a Soviet Communist who has worked for a number of years in the Secretariat of the World Federation of Democratic Youth, and who also worked in the preparation of the Warsaw, Moscow, and Vienna Festivals; Lubomir Kirilov Dramaliev, a 37-year-old Bulgarian Communist Party member, and son of Communist Bulgaria's Ambassador to East

EXHIBIT 4

KÄYNTILUPA KANSAINVÄLISEN FESTIVAALIKOMITEAN KESKUSTOIMISTOON

BON D'ENTRÉE AU SIEGE DU COMITÉ INTERNATIONAL DU FESTIVAL

M. _____ de _____
(nimi) (maa)

est autorisée à visiter _____
(on oikeutettu käymään) (nom du collaborateur) kenen luona)

du bureau de _____
(toimisto)

Helsinki _____
(päiväys) heure d'entrée
(sisäänpääsy aika)

HUOM. Voimassa yhtä vierailua varten.

ATT. Est valable pour une visite.

TRANSLATION FROM FINNISH

Permission to visit the Central Office of the International Committee
of the Festival

Mr./Mrs. _____ (name), _____ (country)

is admitted to visit _____ (which room)

of the office of _____

Helsinki _____ (date) _____ (the time of admission)

Att. Valuable for one visit

Pass to Helsinki Festival headquarters. Delegates required such a pass to visit their "own" headquarters. This was to prevent non-Communist delegates from wandering through the building and perhaps learning more than the Communists wished them to know.

Germany; Christian Echard, official of the French Communist Youth organization and, until 1962, was Secretary General of the World Federation of Democratic Youth; Jean Garcias, 37, Secretary General of the International Preparatory Committee and officially the top Festival organizer, a member of the French Communist Party who has worked for the past 8 years in the headquarters of the World Federation of Democratic Youth; Ian Gornicki, a Polish Communist and an official of the Communist youth organization of Poland; Thomas Michael Jala, also known as Tom Morris, Canadian Communist, and an official of the Young Communist League of Canada. Jala is in charge of activities in the Western Hemisphere, and has met frequently with American Young Communists.

Others were: G. Margono, Indonesia, a Vice President of the World Federation of Democratic Youth; Jiri Pelikan, in 1948 a Communist delegate to the Czech Parliament, currently President of the International Union of Students; Piero Pieralli, President of the Italian Communist Youth organization and also of the World Federation of Democratic Youth; Dr. Djayeng Suroso, a leader of the Indonesian Communist youth organization, has worked in the headquarters of the WFDY since 1957; Rolf Weissbach, Program Secretary of the Helsinki Festival, official of the East German Communist youth organization Free German Youth (FDJ); Horst Schumann, leader of the East German youth delegation and first Secretary of the FDJ. The 38-year-old Schumann has been a member of the Communist Party since before World War II when he served in the underground Communist Party in Nazi Germany.

On the 30th of July 1962, the student section of the Festival was opened by Dramaliev, the 37-year-old son of Bulgaria's Ambassador to East Germany. He introduced as a speaker Janet Jagan, who was referred to as the wife of Cheddi Jagan, President of British Guiana. Mrs. Jagan made a long speech against colonialism. After



Anti-colonialism poster displayed at Helsinki Festival.

the Festival she visited the Soviet Zone of Germany, where she praised the Berlin wall in a broadcast over the East German radio. Another speaker on student affairs at the Festival was Holland Roberts, the elderly Communist from California, U.S.A. Professor Roberts, who served on the International Preparatory Committee for the Vienna Youth Festival, did not have such a function at this Festival. Contact between the U.S. Festival Committee and the IRC was through Canadian Communist Thomas Jala. After the Festival Roberts also visited East Germany. In a speech on September 10, 1962, over the East Germany radio, he said:

I am very happy to be here at the Brandenburg Gate and to see with my own eyes how necessary it was to build this wall in the interest of world peace.

A very limited amount of printed anti-Communist propaganda was available during the Festival. Some religious leaflets, mainly in the Finnish language, a small pamphlet in Spanish put out by the Cuban students concerning the persecution of young people in Communist Cuba were distributed, but that was all. A bulletin printed in the United States by a group of East European refugees, which discussed the Communist domination of the Festival, was confiscated by Finnish border guards before it got into the country. The bulletin pointed out that the organizers of the 1957 and 1959 Festivals were the Soviet functionaries Shelepin and Semichastny. The first had been in charge of the Moscow Festival in 1957 and the second ran the Vienna Festival in 1959. Since that time, each has served as head of the Soviet Secret Police. Semichastny is today the chairman of the Soviet "Committee on State Security" (Soviet Secret Police). While this publication was forbidden to enter Finland on the grounds that it might hurt the feelings of the Soviet Union, a friendly neighboring state, tons of printed Communist propaganda were distributed, including a good deal of material extremely unfriendly to countries friendly to Finland.²

The International Union of Students distributed to delegates a number of publications attacking West Germany as a "Nazi state," and attacking a number of other Western countries including the United States. One IUS pamphlet entitled "Korea and Its Students," said in part: "The southern part of their country is still under American occupation," but the Korean students—

aim to liberate South Korea from U.S. military occupation in order to regain the historical unity of their country and people. If the Korean people nowadays consider that U.S. imperialism is the enemy of their national cause, it does not mean it is the first and only imperialism from which they suffered and against which they fought. Actually the U.S. invaded South Korea as a substitute for Japanese imperialism after its defeat in World War II.

The pamphlet accuses "the U.S. imperialists" of "unleashing war on June 25, 1950," in Korea.

One IUS pamphlet contained the text of an international Communist student seminar on "illiteracy" which took place in Cuba in 1961. According to this pamphlet, in the United States "the doors of the schools are closed to Negroes." The pamphlet states that—

Fascism is the last expression of imperialist capitalism. Unless bourgeois society is strangled from within in time, humanity will see the emergence of a radically fascist regime in the United States and in other countries with a high level of capitalist development. Fascist symptoms have been in the United States for the

² App. I, p. 63.

last 15 years. As the revolutionary movement becomes more radical and advances, fascism will take power in bourgeois society * * *. In this situation the only way for the intelligentsia is that of rebellion; therefore, perhaps the day is not too far away in which rebellion will be seen as a necessity for the harassed and repressed intellectuals of North America.

This pamphlet, printed in Cuba by the International Union of Students, in English, French, and Spanish, was very widely distributed to the delegates at the Festival. The pamphlet was also anti-religious. It said:

In Africa the priests did not content themselves with praying. They were dangerous collaborators with colonialism and taught Western culture which was the indispensable ideological basis for colonization and for exploitation.

A number of Cuban Communist publications were also available many of them attacking the United States. A leaflet distributed to the delegates by Vietnamese Communists studying in France, attacked the Government of South Vietnam and praised the Communist government of North Vietnam. Reams of mimeographed documents were distributed by the few Spanish delegates. All of the Spanish delegates are now living behind the Iron Curtain. They claimed that they represented the youth and students of Spain and attacked the Spanish Government. The Communist-dominated Federation of University Students for Independence of Puerto Rico (FUPI), which operates from Box 1873, U.P.R., Rio Piedras, P.R., issued a leaflet announcing that the 23d of September was—

the day of international solidarity, with the students of Puerto Rico struggling for national independence and for the withdrawal of all U.S. military bases from their territory.

A group of Egyptian students studying behind the Iron Curtain issued a leaflet attacking the Government of Egypt. Tons of other Communist material were available in every conceivable language including Esperanto.

Some of the Communist propaganda in Esperanto was printed in North Vietnam. Communist Hungary and Communist East Germany distributed reams of printed matter praising their own Communist governments, but attacking the neighboring governments which were not Communist. The Soviet Union also distributed vast quantities of literature at a Soviet pavilion that was set up as part of the Festival activities. The pavilion, which had a big sign on it saying "Sputnik," was used both for the distribution of pro-Soviet and anti-American literature and for various meetings and cultural events. A picture on one Soviet leaflet shows American youth dancing. They are identified as "gilded youth," whereas another picture, showing Soviet youth working identifies them as "golden youth." The leaflet goes on to say that it is the youth in the countries of the Communist world that are better off.

A printed text of Khrushchev's speech of July 10, 1962, on disarmament, was available within a few weeks, so that it could be distributed at the Festival in every conceivable language. Newspapers in Finnish, as well as in English, French, German and Russian, were all available in the Soviet Pavilion. With them were catalogs for the "People's Friendship University of Patrice Lumumba," a Communist training school for Africans, Asians, and Latin Americans in the Soviet Union.

Various "peace" publications were also distributed. Propaganda issued by the Government of Guinea headed by Sekou Toure, a

graduate of the Prague Communist training school, was widely distributed. Many of the African delegates were not living in their own countries, but were either students at Lumumba University, the Communist University in Prague, or at various training schools in Guinea and Ghana.

The American Communist delegates distributed publications issued by the Progressive Youth Organizing Committee and by Advance, both Communist youth organizations. They spread the same Communist line as the Iron Curtain publications. One statement on Cuba, issued by the Progressive Youth Organizing Committee, and distributed to the delegates, attacked the State Department of the United States for not permitting people to go to Cuba. It also attacked the Organization of American States for barring the Communist Cuban delegation from membership. A pamphlet was distributed, signed by Daniel Rubin, who was not identified in the pamphlet, but who is in fact the National Youth Director of the Communist Party, U.S.A. A leaflet was distributed defending the convicted atomic spy Morton Sobell, and issued by the "Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell." In addition, copies of the Communist Youth magazine, *New Horizons for Youth*, were widely distributed to the delegates. Lionel Lipson, a Communist Party member who edits *New Horizons for Youth*, was one of the American delegates to the Festival. One of the issues of *New Horizons* distributed to delegates made frequent use of the term "ofay," a derogatory term for white people used by Negroes.

Jean Garcias, the Communist head of the International Preparatory Committee, declared "participation in the Festival is open to all who wish to participate in it, irrespective of their political opinions, religious belief, race or nationality," adding that "no tendency predominates, each can express his own opinions with due respect for those of others." The fact is, however, that only the Communist opinion was heard at the Helsinki Youth Festival.

At a seminar on education, the East German moderator announced that each speaker would have only 10 minutes in order to allow time for questioning. A Brazilian speaker, who had prepared an hour-long report, held his statement down to 15 minutes. Then a Hungarian Communist spoke for 40 minutes, a Russian Communist spoke for an hour and 15 minutes, and the session ended with no question period.

A Puerto Rican Communist delegate stood up at one session and shouted at some of the American students:

How can there be free choice when Puerto Rico is occupied by the CIA and the FBI and professors and students are being tortured and imprisoned. You stupid fascists may laugh, but Cuba and Latin America will come to our help and demolish your Strategic Air Command bases. You can all laugh with your Kennedy and his lackey, Muñoz Marín, because we will soon bury you all. You can all laugh because I don't give any of you more than 20 years of life. Cuba and Latin America will come to our defense and take care of you.

American delegates were not permitted to answer this speech. Most of the 10 Puerto Rican delegates represented the Federation of University Students for Independence (FUPI). The President of FUPI is Juan Angel Silen, a well-known Castro sympathizer. FUPI is affiliated with the Communist-dominated "Movement for the Independence of Puerto Rico" (MPI), headed by Castroite Juan Mari Bras who visited the United States early in 1963. FUPI is affiliated to the International Union of Students. In 1961, at the IUS executive

committee meeting in Havana, it was decided to "give all support and possible material assistance to FUPI in the fight for national independence and against North American imperialism." The FUPI and MPI representative to the IUS Secretariat in Prague is the Puerto Rican Communist Narciso Rabell.

A Cuban delegate openly told one meeting, "We are here to teach the Africans and Asians how to conduct revolutions." Cuban delegates wore a badge which showed a white dove of peace carrying a black machinegun in its claws. The legend "Fatherland or Death" appeared on the badge. A number of the Cuban delegates had come through the Soviet Union, where, only a few months before, Nikita Khrushchev had spoken to a cheering rally of Young Communist Cubans who had spent a year undergoing training in the Soviet Union. Khrushchev told them on June 2, 1962:

We are very much pleased with your stay in the Soviet Union, and I see that you are also pleased. Now we are giving you a festive sendoff. You shall return home not as holiday makers; much persistence, work, and struggle awaits you there. The Revolution demands of you great stanchness and deep understanding of the processes which are now taking place in Cuba. The armed struggle with the enemy is a difficult struggle. But this difficult armed struggle is more understandable to the broadest sections of the population because one realizes—not even with one's brain but with one's senses—who the enemy is when he is on the other side of the barricade. After all, he shoots at you and you must shoot back if you want to win, if you want to survive.

Khrushchev went on to say:

Cuba is a free country, which has won its independence and driven out the placemen [stooges] of American imperialism. But you are next door to the mightiest imperialist power. Imperialism will not reconcile itself to the fact that the Cuban flag is fluttering victoriously over free Cuban soil—the flag raised by the people of Cuba under the leadership of Fidel Castro * * *. We are helping Cuba in some other respects, too—with weapons and other things. In the future, too, we promise to render you aid * * *. Therefore, young friends, I urge you to become true soldiers of your revolutionary party, your people, your government, so that, under the guidance of Fidel Castro—the man who is greatly loyal to the cause of the revolution, the cause of the people—you will march forward, listen to his voice and answer his appeals with militant deeds, will march forward in closed ranks to surmount difficulties, under the leadership of the party, under the leadership of the government.

The 425 Cuban delegates who came to Helsinki were the dregs of Cuba. The students and intellectuals were either in exile or in prison, and those Cubans that came to Helsinki were the brutal and vicious element that are attracted to Fidel Castro's flag. They served as the hoodlum squads to keep the other Latin American delegations following the Communist line. On February 27, 1962, Raul Castro made a speech at a Havana meeting of the young people leaving to attend the Helsinki Youth Festival as Cuban delegates. He told them that Cuban delegates had been to the Moscow Festival and the Vienna Youth Festival and he claimed that "American imperialists" had spent several millions of dollars to sabotage the Vienna Festival. He claimed that the Yankee imperialists are sworn enemies of peace activities and they will seek also to sabotage the Festival, but the Cuban delegation, said Castro, will be larger this time and will be active participants. He said, "Our socialist revolution, led by Comrade Fidel, will march forward with new victory." After having gone through the pep talks of Khrushchev and Raul Castro, the Cuban delegates were ready for a fight, and they were frequently used to break up discussions where anti-Communists were having their say.

Fidel Castro sent greetings to the Festival in the following telegram:

Greetings to the VIII World Festival of Youth and Students "For Peace and Friendship" to be held in Helsinki from July 27 to August 5, 1962.

The masses of youth must strive with zeal and passion to achieve mankind's ideals of progress and peace. This desire brings together dozens of thousands of youth representatives from all parts of the world.

We share your opinion that the most common goals of the current moment are the achievement of universal peace and the struggle of the dependent and exploited peoples for liberation from imperialist domination. At present progressive mankind is making every effort to achieve these aims. The youth of the world knows that the future belongs to them and they are pooling their efforts to free mankind for all time from such evils as war and the exploitation of man by man. They want to live in peace and they shall live in a world in which there will be no oppressed peoples and fratricidal wars.

Cuban youth has always widely participated in preparation for festivals and will send an even larger and more representative delegation this year to speak out in the name of the Cuban revolution.

In greeting world youth on the occasion of the forthcoming festival, we extend a fraternal invitation on behalf of the Cuban people to conduct the next IX World Festival in our country, on our land.

We are confident that all young people, irrespective of their views, nationality, trade, and color of skin will find a cordial welcome in Cuba.

We ask the youth of the world to honor us with their acceptance of our invitation. We offer them the heart of a fighting people, a people which is confidently building its future and happiness.

The Motherland or Death! Victory will be ours!

The message was signed: "Fidel Castro, Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba."

When Oliver Davidson, an anti-Communist American from Ohio, tried at one seminar to give his place on the speakers' list to a Hungarian refugee, the Communists began to shout and stamp their feet. They accused the Hungarian refugee of being a Nazi. He answered above the shouts, "My family was killed in a Nazi prison camp; I am Jewish," but the Communists nevertheless shouted him down and the Communist chairman of the session insisted that only persons living in their own countries could represent those countries and therefore



Postcard distributed at the "peace" festival showing armed Algerian FLN soldiers.

a Hungarian refugee could not represent Hungary. The next day Davidson rose to challenge a speech by a Spanish Communist in exile from Spain, under the ruling the chairman had made the day before. He was shouted down, of course. A Dutch student trying to protest against Soviet colonialism also was shouted down and a group of pro-Communist students introduced a resolution attacking the Government of Holland.

Hassan Bashir Sinada, representing the International Union of Students, told one seminar that the students of France support the liberation of Algeria and that the "American students * * * expressed their solidarity with the Cuban revolutionary students" and the Dutch students are active in fighting for the liberation of West Irian from Holland. By liberation of West Irian was meant turning West New Guinea over to Indonesia. A number of interdelegation meetings took place, at which the Communists in each delegation took the opportunity to attack their own countries and to praise the Communist regimes that their countries were busy fighting. Dutch Communist students met with the Indonesians, Americans with the Cubans, French with the Algerians, Israel with the United Arab Republic, and India with China. Other interdelegation meetings were also held. The American delegation met with almost every Iron Curtain delegation. One young American expressed extreme shock as he told of the meeting with the Rumanian delegation. The two delegations sat down at long tables, filled with sandwiches, cakes, and Rumanian wine. They danced folk dances together. A young Rumanian Communist leader, short but darkly handsome, addressed the Americans. He expressed himself as being very friendly to the United States. Later that afternoon, the young American student attended one of the seminars on peace. The same Rumanian was a speaker there. He praised Communism in the Soviet Union and denounced the "fascist warmongers" of the United States.

The Chinese and Cuban delegations met. Wang Chao-hua, head of the Chinese delegation, told the assembled Cubans:

Although China and Latin America are far apart geographically, they are close to each other. This is because their common ideals and struggles have linked them closely. The Chinese and Latin American youths ardently love peace; they love national independence and freedom even more; they long for a happy future and are waging a joint struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression and for world peace.

At one point the North Korean Communist delegation met with a Finnish Communist delegation. One of the Finns was an 80-year-old food worker. According to the North Korean radio on July 31, 1962, this 80-year-old man showed the Korean delegates a scrapbook of the newspaper clippings of photographs and materials describing "the bestial atrocities of the U.S. imperialists in the past Korean war." He condemned the United States for the Korean war and said that he admired Marshal Kim Il-sung, "the respected and beloved leader of the Korean people."

At the joint meeting of the Cuban and American delegations, Jeff Mackler, a student at Antioch College, Ohio, said, "Without making political statements, I express the hope that the day will come when everyone would say 'Cuba Yes, Yankee Yes'." And Joel Iglesias, the leader of the Young Communist League of Cuba, answered that the people of Cuba know the American people are their friends, it is only

the American Government that is their enemy. Mackler was listed on the U.S. festival committee letterhead as "National Councilman, Student Peace Union." The Antioch College Record of November 2, 1962, reported that Mackler had complained at a meeting of SPU that one of their picket lines had both anti-U.S. and anti-U.S.S.R. signs. He demanded only anti-U.S. signs.

At the forum of young workers, Chinese delegate Tu Fan-kao spoke of "the need to get rid of imperialism before the people can enjoy national independence and a life of peace and security."

At a meeting between Arab and Israeli delegates, the Arabs introduced a resolution calling Israel "an imperialist base." All of the Israeli delegates walked out, except the representative of the Israeli Young Communist Union, who proposed that they substitute in the resolution the wording "the pro-imperialist Israel regime." The Arab delegates agreed with him and that is the way the resolution was passed. The resolution was released, however, as a joint resolution of the Arab and Israeli delegations.

One of the most fantastic speeches was made in the discussion on cinematography by the Albanian delegate, Viktor Gjika. The Albanian opened his speech on how to make movies by saying:

Dear Friends, we are pleased of having the occasion to meet, discuss, and bring thus our contribution to the great common cause of peace and friendship for the solution of the problems agitating today our youth, who are threatened by the atomic war maniacs, the imperialists, headed by the U.S. imperialists, sworn enemies of peace, freedom, and progress.³ * * *

Our cinematography is called to militate in the question of the victory of our progressive ideas, to which our people is devoting about 20 years. The cinema art must contribute in the solution of the actual problems of our time. It must support the decisive efforts of mankind for the overthrow of imperialism and the national liberation struggles of the peoples, for the removal of the remnants of colonialism or the manifestation of neocolonialism. We benevolently receive those productions of the world cinematography which condemn the war, call to struggle for peace, but we regret and cannot agree with the fact that many of them are of a pacifistic nature. Our cinematography, by militating in the struggle for peace, cannot be pacifistic because we are deeply convinced that, at the present time, peace as well as the realization of the brilliant idea of complete and general disarmament cannot be asked, but must be imposed upon those reactionary forces which want to throw mankind into the catastrophe of the atomic war. The terror of the atomic mushroom has aroused a panic among the public opinion of many countries. The cinema art, like other arts, with their optimism, should strengthen among the peoples the great faith in the victory of the forces of peace, which will not permit the launching of a war, and even if the warmongering forces will succeed in launching it, they will suffer their final doom.

The North Korean Communist youth organization, the Korean Democratic Youth League, sent greetings to its delegates in Helsinki on July 29, 1962. The greetings called upon them to "raise high the flames of the anti-American national salvation struggle." All of the Communist delegates did their best to raise high the flame of anti-Americanism both in their speeches and their distribution of literature. Very few answers to this propaganda were available at the Helsinki Youth Festival.

Violence was not unusual at the Festival. A socialist youth seen attempting to put up a poster that the Communists objected to was attacked from behind by two young Communists and dragged into a Festival information pavilion. A young Swede distributing leaflets was seized by the Communists, dragged into one of the schools used as

³ The quaint use of the English language is due to the translation provided by the official Festival press committee.

a Festival barracks, and his pockets searched. When he demanded to see the police, they let him go. A group of Swiss students, distributing leaflets announcing a Swiss information center, was set upon by Communists and beaten up. An American television reporter, who attempted to film the incident, was knocked down and his camera smashed. The Swiss, incidentally, were frequently manhandled by Communist hoodlums because their exhibit on life in free Switzerland was very objectionable to the Communists. Although the exhibit was not political, it explained life in a free country and this the Communists could not tolerate. The Swiss exhibit also provided dancing and jazz music, as well as an opportunity for delegates to have free discussions with young people from other countries, something they were denied by the Festival organizers.

During the Festival, a Russian-born Roman Catholic priest was kidnapped by Soviet agents. Father Jean Kornievsky, who worked at a Russian Roman Catholic mission in Brussels, Belgium, had come to Helsinki to make contacts with Soviet delegates. He disappeared one day, leaving a note behind saying that he intended to meet a Soviet delegate. He said in the note, "I feel that there is some danger, please pray for me." Nearly a year later his associates had not heard from him.

Contact with delegates from behind the Iron Curtain, many of whom hate the Communist regime under which they are forced to live, was organized by a number of anti-Communist groups. Young refugees from the Baltic States met with Soviet delegates from the area of the Soviet Union that was once the free countries of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia. Many of these delegates took literature given to them by their anti-Communist compatriots. The Russian anti-Communist revolutionary organization, NTS (National Union of Russian Solidarists), also made contact with groups of Soviet delegates. Many Russians carried NTS revolutionary literature back into the Soviet Union. NTS members reported that, after a number of conversations with Soviet delegates, they concluded that many were anti-Communist, even some who held membership cards in the Communist Party and the Young Communist League. Some of the Soviet delegates told them stories of riots that had taken place in the Soviet Union 2 months previously, when prices for food had gone up one-third. Hundreds were reported killed in the rioting. Soviet delegates also reported to NTS members that they listened illegally to radios from the West, Voice of America, BBC, Radio Liberty, and the NTS clandestine station—Radio Free Russia. They listen despite the jamming which is particularly intense against the last two stations.

More than 40 members of the 400 East German delegates refused to go back. Escaping, however, was not easy, as the East German delegation, all housed aboard a ship, was very closely guarded. One East German refugee, who had been in a Communist concentration camp, identified a guard on board the ship as a man he had known as one of the most brutal prison guards in the concentration camp. The first to escape was a young German girl who spoke Finnish and had been brought along as an interpreter. One young East German refugee who had escaped the year before, tried to meet his fiancée who was a member of the choir in the East German delegation. He rode in a taxicab to a restaurant where the choir was to perform. When his fiancée stepped into the taxi, East German secret policemen

surrounded the car, dragged the girl out and took her away. On another day, a young East German tried to flee from a group, he was jumped upon and beaten up. A Finnish boy who tried to help him was also beaten. The figure of over 40 East German escapees confirms the estimate made before the Festival by the West German students who were in Helsinki. They estimated that 10 percent of the East German delegation would escape. Horst Schumann, head of the East German Communist Youth, had announced that there would be 800 East German delegates, who would come aboard two ships. Only 1 ship arrived and only 400 delegates. When a question was asked at one of the Festival news conferences as to what had happened to the other ship, the press conference was ended early and the reporter who asked the question was accused of being a West German spy.

Just before the Festival ended, after over a week of shouting "no nuclear tests" and "peace and friendship," the Soviet Union announced the resumption of nuclear tests. Some of the pacifists in the Festival delegations attempted to march in the August 6 closing demonstration carrying signs "No Tests East or West." August 6 had been picked by the Communists as the date for the closing demonstration because it was the anniversary of the American bombing of Hiroshima in 1945. Jean Garcias, the Communist leader of the International Festival committee, personally ripped up a sign of an anti-bomb-test demonstrator.⁴ No such signs were permitted in the peace parade. Only American tests could be protested, not Soviet tests.

Only a few months before, on March 4, 1962, Radio Moscow had announced with glee that about 5,000 New Yorkers had come out to protest the decision of the U.S. Government to resume nuclear tests. According to Radio Moscow—

a group of demonstrators, youths and girls, sat down on the pavement, blocking the traffic on car-jammed Broadway. Policemen attacked them, grabbed the protesting demonstrators, and pushed them into police vans.

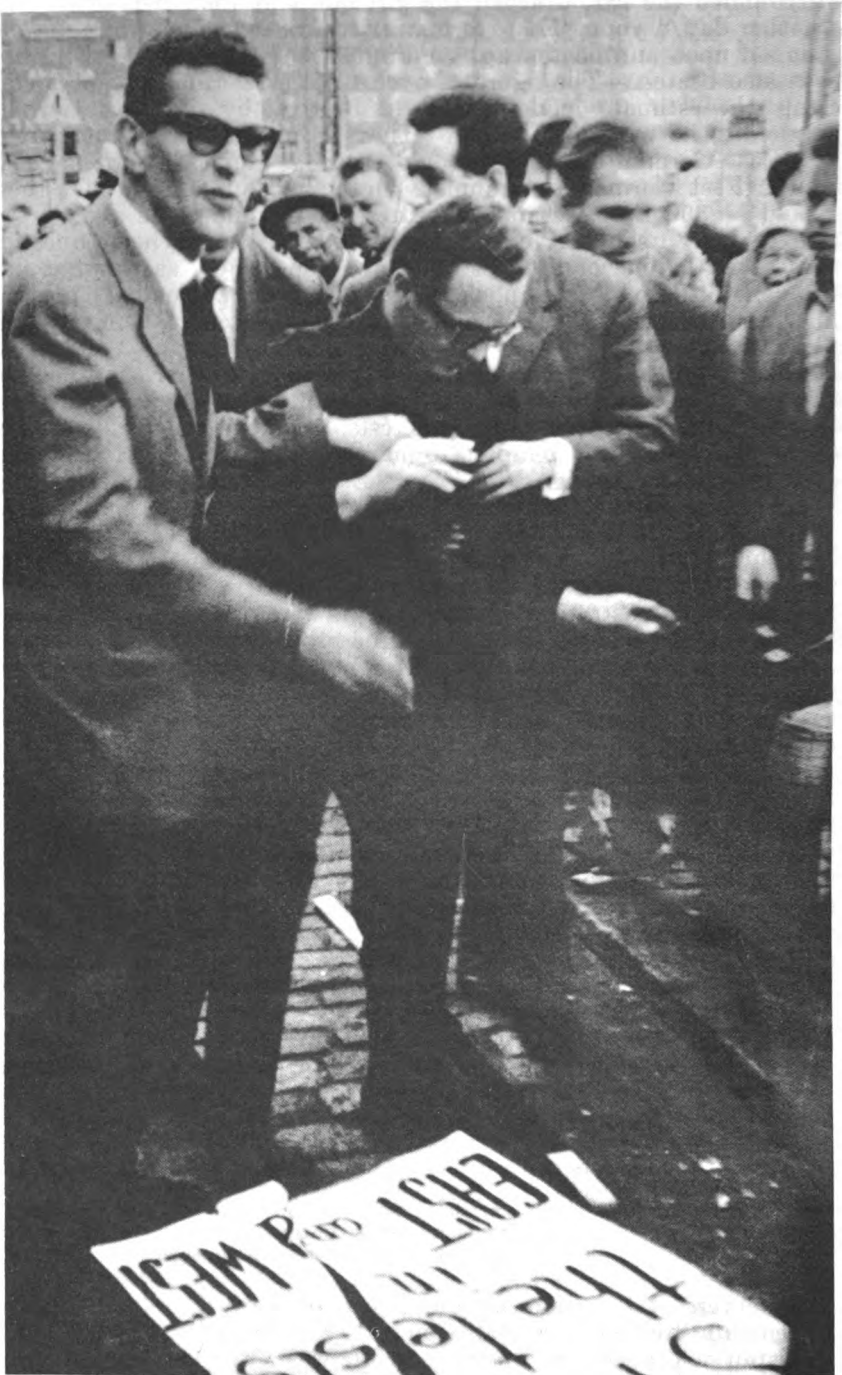
The next day Radio Peking announced that 3,000 New Yorkers had held a demonstration (apparently 2,000 were lost on the way from Moscow to Peking). According to Peking they shouted, "We want peace. We want peace."

The Communists like demonstrations against American testing. They forbid demonstrations against their own testing. The reason for this was explained very well by the East German Communist leader Paul Froehlich in the Communist East German newspaper Neues Deutschland of February 1, 1962. Speaking of conscientious objectors in East Germany, he said:

Did they prevent World War I? * * * Did they prevent World War II? * * * Does the possibility today exist of preventing wars? Certainly; but not with the claim of the pacifists that they do not want to take a gun into their hands. Instead, this is achieved by those people who take a gun into their hands and who know exactly for what purpose: to safeguard peace and to defend it with a weapon in hand. As far as West Germany is concerned, however, I will support every conscientious objector over there, because he contributes to the weakening of the aggressive NATO army.

Observers at the Festival complained of many fraudulent official statements by the Festival Committee. For example, the only Pakistan delegate in the opening parade was actually a student from Communist East Germany. Of the 230 Iraqis at the Festival, only 30 came from Iraq, the rest from schools behind the Iron Curtain.

⁴ See picture on p. 38.



Jean Garcias (left), Festival official, shown after destroying anti-Nuclear Test Poster, August 6, 1962. Garcias was killed in an air crash in November 1962. He was a member of the French Communist Party.

Twenty of the forty Bolivians came from Prague and Moscow. The delegation representing Panama consisted of two: one from Cuba, one from Moscow.

The finances of the Festival also were somewhat confused. Finnish sources estimated that the Festival cost over \$25 million, not including the transportation that many of the Afro-Asian delegates received free. However, income for the Festival Committee was less than a million dollars. The additional \$24 million was traced directly back to the Soviet Union and the Communist bloc countries, which made up the Festival Committee deficit. The delegates, however, were never told that this was the case. Instead they were told that the deficit was made up by the sale of pins and souvenirs.

The Festival did succeed in roping in many non-Communists whose names were included in the list of sponsors, although most of the sponsors and senders of greetings were well-known identified Communists such as Osvaldo Dorticos, the "president" of Castro Cuba; Fidel Castro, Cuban Premier; Cheddi Jagan, Premier of British Guiana; Jomo Kenyatta, leader of the Mau-Mau uprising in Kenya; Vincente Lombardo Toledano of Mexico, president of the Latin American Workers' Conference, and others of this ilk. However, the Communists claimed that they also had the support of Bertrand Russell and produced a letter from Lord Russell which sent greetings to the Festival and "hoped that its idea would be spread far and wide." He wished every success to the Festival. A partial list of other "notables" who sent greetings to the Festival follows:

MEMBERS OF GOVERNMENTS

Mr. Tom M'Boya, Minister of Labor, Kenya.
 Mr. Achmadi, Minister for Transmigration, Cooperatives, and Rural Construction, Indonesia.
 Prof. Prijone, Minister for Primary and Secondary Education, Indonesia.
 Mr. Soedjone, charge of relations with the Peoples' Organizations, Indonesia.
 Mr. E. K. Bensah, Minister for Reconstruction and Transport, Ghana.
 Mr. Kongle, Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces, Laos.
 Mr. Mongali, Minister for Youth and Sports of Republic of Congo-Léopoldville.
 Mr. Hassan Rifait, Minister for Reconstruction, Iraq.
 Mr. Quinim Pholsena, Foreign Minister, Laos.
 Mayors of Brasilia, New Delhi, Prague, Warsaw.

LEADING PERSONALITIES

(Partial list)

Mr. Gadfil, Governor of the State of Punjab, India.
 Mr. Leonel Brizola, Governor of State of Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil.
 Prof. J. D. Bernal, President of the World Council of Peace, Great Britain.
 Mr. Lazaro Cardenas, writer, former president of Republic of Mexico.
 Mr. Pierre Cot, former Minister, France.
 Dr. Carlos Cueva Tamariz, former Minister of National Education, Rector of Cuenca University, Ecuador.
 Mr. Otto Mayer, Chancellor of International Olympic Committee.
 Mr. Sven Loftman, Vice President of the International Ice Skating Federation.
 Mr. Vaino Meltti, Prefect of the County of Uusimaa (where Helsinki is located), Finland.
 Mr. Kamil El-Chadarchi, President of National Democratic Party, Iraq.
 Mr. Fadil Abbas El Mahwadi, President of the People's Court of Iraq.
 Mr. Henri Alleg, Journalist, Algeria.
 Mlle. Isabelle Blum, Belgium.
 Mr. Francisco Juliao, founder and leader of the Peasant League of northeast Brazil.

CHURCH PERSONALITIES

(Partial list)

Mr. Zoltan Kaldy, Evangelist Bishop of Hungary.
 Dr. Martin Niemoeller, President of the Protest Church of Hesse, GFR, President of the World Council of Churches.
 Rev. P. George A. Ackerly, Methodist Minister of City Island, New York, U.S.A.
 Rev. W. B. Spofford, editor of the Episcopal weekly *The Witness*.
 George Casalis, Professor of Theology, France.
 Rev. I. G. Perkins, United Church of Donland, Toronto, Canada.

SCIENTIFIC, TEACHING CIRCLES

(Partial list)

Dr. Linus Pauling, Nobel Prize winner, U.S.A., professor of research in chemistry at the Technical Institute, California.
 Mr. R. G. Soemantri, President of the University of Bandung.
 Mr. Indrosoegondho, head of the Cultural Department of the Ministry of Education and Culture of Indonesia.
 Mr. J. Marinello, Rector of Havana University, Cuba.
 Mr. Thomas Armstrong, Director of Great Britain's Royal Academy of Music.
 Prof. Kurt Schroder, rector of Humboldt University, Berlin, GDR.
 Mr. Kahorou Iasoui, dean of the Law Faculty at Hosei University, Tokyo, Japan.
 Mr. Marechal, professor at Paris Conservatoire, France.
 Prof. L. I. Sodov, member Academy of Sciences of U.S.S.R., professor at Moscow University.
 Lord Bertrand Russell, mathematician, Great Britain.

CULTURAL FIGURES

(Partial list)

Salvatore Quasimodo, Nobel Prize winner, Italy.
 Mikhail Sholokov, author of "And Quiet Flows the Don," U.S.S.R.
 Jorge Icaza, author of the novel "Huasipungo," Ecuador.
 Khachaturian, composer, U.S.S.R.
 Igor Moiseyev, leader of Folk Song and Dance Ensemble, U.S.S.R.
 Lataro Murna, stage producer, Argentina.
 Lycette Darsonval, leading dancer at Paris Opera House, France.
 Maiju Kunsoja, singer at Helsinki Opera House, Finland.
 Renato Guttuso, artist, Italy.

SPORTS FIGURES

(Partial list)

Eder Joffe, Argentina.	Helmut Recknagel, GDR. ⁵
Juhani, Jarvinen, Finland.	Gustav Adolf Schur, GDR.
Yuri Vlassov, U.S.S.R.	Donald Jackson, Canada.
Mikhail Botvinki, U.S.S.R.	Emil Zatopek, Czechoslovakia.
Oswaldo Roberto Suarez, Argentina.	Istvan Rozsavolgyi, Hungary.
Adolfo Romero, Venezuela.	Vladimir Kuts, U.S.S.R.

The Soviets, as part of their cultural program, presented the Moiseyev dancers, the Bolshoi ballet, Igor Oistrach, and Leonid Kogan. There was no American cultural exhibit to match the Soviets. In addition the Soviet Union brought Titov and Gagarin for a mass demonstration in favor of space travel. An announcement was made by the U.S. Festival Committee that they had also invited Glenn and Carpenter. They never announced that Glenn and Carpenter had refused to appear. Dr. Martin Niemoeller, president of the World Council of Churches, appeared at the Festival and made a speech at a Festival meeting. He later claimed that he was not representing the Council of Churches at that appearance, but reams of Communist

⁵ German Democratic Republic (East Germany).

propaganda went out to show that the World Council of Churches was one of the participants at the Youth Festival. At a meeting of the German delegation, Pastor Niemoeller made the incredibly naive statement that "the Festival really wants peace and friendship, and I believe in this intention, as I think the Festival is a most important and significant international event, in which participation is possible for all young people all over the world."

Pastor Martin Niemoeller had an admirable record of fighting against Hitler during the Nazi times in Germany. But he has not shown the same opposition to the Communist totalitarians. He frequently becomes involved in Communist front "causes." In 1962 he sponsored the Moscow "Peace" conference. He is now serving as a member of the Presidium of a Communist front organization in West Germany called the Association of Nazi Victims. According to West German authorities, the underground Communist Party of Germany uses this organization as a front for its subversive work. Mr. Niemoeller has been a member of this organization since 1947.

World Student News, the official publication of the International Union of Students, boasted that—

a great and new interest manifests itself on the part of large international organizations in different degrees and varied forms: UNESCO, the Co-ordinating Committee of Voluntary Work Camps attached to UNESCO, the World Council of Churches, the International Labor Bureau and eventually the U.N. (whose General Secretary, Mr. U Thant, appointed his representative to attend the seminar on the problems of peace and national independence as an observer), took part in the Festival.

One of the speakers at the Festival was Mr. Pierre Francois, the Director of the youth section of UNESCO. Mr. Hugh Williams, Director of the U.N. Information Center in Copenhagen, attended the Festival meetings as an observer for U Thant. William Jones of the UNESCO youth section also attended the Festival, as did Roger Briottet, Vice President of the Co-ordinating Committee for UNESCO Voluntary Work Camps. The official festival newspaper boasted in a headline: "UNESCO To Take Part In Specialized Meeting," and boasted as well of the participation by Pastor Niemoeller. Although on a number of occasions both UNESCO and the U.N. denied any official participation in the Festival, the official festival publications made frequent references to these people. In addition tons of UNESCO literature were distributed by the Festival organizers. UNESCO folders entitled "UNESCO and Labor" and "UNESCO and Youth" were distributed in thousands of copies. The UNESCO Courier was distributed with an official letter asking people to subscribe. A UNESCO pamphlet "Building Peace In The Minds of Men" was also widely distributed.

Although Swiss youth and students had an excellent exhibit explaining their country to the young people of the world, Americans did not do the same. An American exhibit set up was called "Young America Presents." It was much better financed than the Swiss exhibit, but it in no way matched it. The American exhibit did have some good jazz. In addition, it had a book of beatnik poetry and an exhibit of modern art. In no place in the exhibit could anyone find an American answer to Communism. One of the artistic pieces showed a board. Nailed or pasted to the board were bits of cigaret butts, a woman's torn stocking and other trash. This was labeled "Remnants of a Greenwich Village Party." The American exhibit

was the laughingstock of the delegates from all over the world. If this is all that America could produce to match the Moiseyev dancers and the Bolshoi ballet that were provided by the Soviet Union, America indeed was a cultural wasteland.

Many of the African delegates who had their way paid by the Communist youth fronts, or the Soviet Union itself, were left in Helsinki with no money except rubles which could not be exchanged. Upon discovering this, some of the liberal and Socialist groups at the Festival (who were not official Festival participants) began a campaign of "buying" African delegates away from the Communists. The campaign was reasonably successful and quite a number of African delegates, in exchange for free trips to Western Europe and/or free trips home, were only too happy to sign statements attacking the Festival. But this was only tit for tat because a few months previously at the "World Assembly of Youth" session in Denmark, Communist organizers were buying African delegates to go to the Festival. In at least one case, a delegate from Uganda was bought and sold twice. He was at the World Assembly of Youth gathering where he was paid to go to the Helsinki Communist Youth Festival. The Socialists bought him back at Helsinki. Whether such people are of any value in political warfare is a question that those who buy them might well answer. This did not mean that all the African delegates who traveled to Western Europe were bought. There were a number of sincere Africans who, upon seeing what life was like behind the Iron Curtain, wanted the opportunity to see the free world as well. A number of them had the opportunity presented to them by the Scandinavian and West German young people.

Without bothering to tell the delegates, the Festival organizers unanimously passed a resolution in the name of all the delegates. The resolution, as released by the Soviet news agency Tass, reads as follows:

[Text of the appeal of the participants in the Eighth World Youth Festival]

DEAR FRIENDS, YOUTH OF THE WHOLE WORLD: On behalf of 18,000 boys and girls from 137 countries who participated in the Eighth World Festival of Youth and Students for Peace and Friendship, we address you a message of peace and friendship which constitutes a testimony of youth's faith and hope in the future. The youth of Africa, America, Asia, Europe, and Oceania represented in Helsinki by 1,500 organizations of all trends, realizing their responsibility in the face of the danger of a world war, address also all the peoples of the world and their governments in order to express once more their unwavering determination to defend world peace.

We have spent 10 unforgettable days here. We compared our viewpoints and exchanged opinions. We were guided by the search of the common things that unite us. We learned to understand each other and became friends. The festival in Helsinki, with its fraternal meetings, manifestations, artistic performances, and athletic competitions, was a supreme expression of the common will of the young generation to achieve the triumph of peace, friendship, and international understanding; to assert everywhere the right to national independence; and to make the discoveries and achievements of science and technology serve mankind. By our powerful manifestations at the festival, we demonstrated our common will to peace and international friendship, to end all nuclear tests and to ban nuclear weapons, to conclude a disarmament treaty, to assure the triumph of the principles of national independence and peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

At the moment when we addressed this appeal to all people without exception, we pledge to dedicate ourselves to the joint fight for peace, and to give all our

strength for the triumph of friendship and mutual understanding among youth and the peoples of the world. May our unity, welded together by the festival, grow stronger and wider. May it become the unity of the youth of the whole world. The youth of the whole world represented at the festival address this appeal, which bears evidence to its desire to achieve the triumph of peace and friendship and world over, to the entire young generation.

Recruiting of delegates to the Festival was done in each country by a Festival Committee recognized by the International Preparatory Committee. Naturally, in each country, the Communists received the mandate to do the organizing. In England, the British Festival Committee was under the control of the British Young Communist League.

A Young Communist League Festival was held in the spring of 1962 to help create interest in the World Youth Festival. A British Communist Party bulletin for Communist teachers helped the recruiting by advising:

This summer the largest international gathering in the world is to take place in Helsinki. The thought of over 12,000 "youths," albeit from over 100 different countries, may cause the staunchest young teacher to blanch after a long summer term. But it must be realized that the organizers of the Festival allow a youth to reach the Indian summer of 30 before he or she reaches adulthood.⁶

U.S. FESTIVAL COMMITTEE

The American delegation was organized by the U.S. Festival Committee, Inc., 460 Park Avenue South, New York 16. The Committee was formed at a conference held at the University of Chicago, October 14 and 15, 1961. Only 37 persons attended that meeting, but they elected the officers and no election by the delegation itself ever took place. The chairman of the Committee, Michael Myerson, had been involved in the San Francisco riot against the House Committee on Un-American Activities in May of 1960. Norman Berkowitz, treasurer of the Committee, has been an active member of Advance, the Communist youth organization in New York City.

Tours of Europe were planned by the U.S. Festival Committee and, according to the USFC bulletin of April 16, 1962, there were a number of tours of Western Europe to take place before the Festival and tours of the U.S.S.R., Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania, and Bulgaria after the Festival. However, it was learned in Helsinki that a number of the American Communists in the delegation had gone on an organized tour through the U.S.S.R. prior to the Festival. The bulletin also advised U.S. delegates that, on the visit to the U.S.S.R., "only tour leaders will need to have their passports stamped," but pursuant to directions from the Soviet Union all persons wishing to visit the U.S.S.R. had to list the addresses of any relatives in the Soviet Union.

As part of the publicity arrangements of the U.S. Festival Committee, an advertisement was placed in the February 5, 1962, issue of the Communist party line newspaper National Guardian. The advertisement, which took one-third of a page, was entitled "Hell or Helsinki?"

⁶ Education Today and Tomorrow June-July 1962, published by the Educational Advisory Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain.

FESTIVAL FOLK & JAZZ CONCERT

**ARTISTS: Alix Dobkin, Pete Seeger, Bob Dylan,
Archie Shepp, Perry Robinson, Jerry Silverman,
Cecil Taylor, New World Singers**

PALM GARDENS, 310 West 52nd Street, N.Y.C.

Wednesday, April 25, 1962 at 8:30 P.M.

Contribution \$2.75

Students \$1.75

**Auspices: United States Festival Committee, Inc.
460 Park Avenue So., N.Y. 16, N.Y., MU 6-0182**

A ticket to a "Festival Folk and Jazz Concert" sold to raise funds for the 1962 gathering, is reproduced above. Pete Seeger, a participant "artist" was convicted in 1955 for refusing to tell the House Committee on Un-American Activities of his Communist connections. On appeal, the court reversed the conviction on the ground that the indictment was defective in that it failed to define properly the committee's authority.

One of the major arguments that took place among the non-Communists who intended to go to the Youth Festival was whether they should represent only themselves as individuals or go representing organizations. The consensus was that they should go representing only themselves, since the use of an organizational title would only permit the international Communist propaganda apparatus to give more prestige to the Festival. In a number of cases, however, non-Communist delegates allowed their organizational affiliations to be used by the Communist organizers of the Festival Committee.

The U.S. Festival Committee also released a statement by "Fifty Prominent Educators, Churchmen, and Community Leaders" urging participation at the Festival. Included among those listed are a number of persons with long records of affiliation with Communist fronts. The statement and purported list of signers reads as follows:

STATEMENT BY FIFTY PROMINENT EDUCATORS, CHURCHMEN, AND COMMUNITY LEADERS

Next summer, in Helsinki, Finland, young people from all over the world will consider how they can work for peace. From the Western countries, from the lands of the East, from the neutral nations, from the newly independent states of Africa and Asia, they will converge on Helsinki for the Eighth World Festival of Youth and Students. Their objective will be Peace and Friendship for All Mankind.

The Government of Finland, a friendly neutral nation, has graciously assumed the host role and will lend dignified auspices to the proceedings.

Eighteen thousand young people from over 100 countries are expected to participate in cultural, athletic, and social programs. Following the festival, many tours in Eastern and Western countries are planned.

It is important that American youth be represented by many individuals from all walks of life reflecting varied aspirations and endeavors. It is our desire to encourage participation, promote initiative, and foster give-and-take relationships with people of other cultures and persuasions.

We are aware of differences of opinion in our country concerning participation in such a festival; but this year we note a considerable reluctance to oppose this exchange forthwith as had been the case with past festivals.

We pray that nothing will prevent American youth from joining together to engage in frank exchanges in their own names with other young people living under conditions and philosophies quite different from our own.

Let us hope that the lessons learned from the contact with the youth of other countries and fever engendered will help change the climate in our beloved land. May these young people lend their lusty voices to the growing clamor for international amity in place of cold war.

In the best traditions of our democratic way of life, we seek to encourage the exchange of ideas as the only avenue to achieve the fullest maturity of our own young people as the best contribution we can make toward the elimination of strained relations and the ultimate achievement of a permanent world peace.

Signed:

Educators

Prof. Saul Bernstein, Boston University School of Social Work.

Prof. Carl W. Condit, Morton Grove, Ill.

Prof. Paul Corey, Sonoma, Calif.

Dr. Eldon Dennis, geologist, Tucson, Ariz.

Prof. H. Alfred Farrell, Lincoln University, Pennsylvania.

Dr. Helen Griffith, South Hadley, Mass.

Dr. David Grossman, Ph. D., Beverly Hills, Calif.

Mr. Daniel Howard, Superintendent of Schools, Emeritus, Windsor, Conn.

Mr. Leo F. Koch, president, School of Living, California.

Prof. Lee Lorch, professor of mathematics, University of Alberta.

Prof. Howard L. Parsons, professor of philosophy, Iowa.

Mr. Dirk J. Struik, professor of mathematics, M.I.T.

Prof. William Vorenberg, professor, New York University, New York.

Religious Leaders

Rev. George A. Ackerly, Methodist, City Island, N.Y.

Rev. Gross W. Alexander, Methodist, Lucerne Valley, Calif.

Rev. William T. Baird, Chicago, Ill.

Mr. Lee H. Ball, ex-secretary, Methodist Federation for Social Action.

Rev. Raymond Calkins, Belmont, Mass.

Miss Lillian E. Comey, director of Weekday Religious Education of Ohio Council of Churches.

Bertha E. Davis, retired Foreign Missionary, Florida.

Rev. Jerome Davis, Foundation for Enduring Peace, Connecticut.

Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman, Unitarian, Los Angeles.

Rev. Ernest L. Howard, Unitarian, Newburgh, N.Y.

Rev. Jim Lawson, Jr., Nashville, Tenn.

Rev. Carl Peterson, Chicago, Ill.

Rabbi Herbert Rose, Livingston, N.J.

Rev. W. B. Spofford, editor of The Witness, and Episcopal weekly.

Rabbi Murry Stadtmauer, Bayside, N.Y.

Rev. C. K. Steele, Sr., Tallahassee, Fla.

Rabbi Walter Zanger, New York, N.Y.

Community Leaders

Mr. F. Woods Beckman, past president, Tennessee Council on Human Relations.

Mrs. Elizabeth B. Boyden, Cambridge, Mass.

Mary C. Eubanks, Cambridge, Mass.

Dr. Carlton B. Goodlet, M.D., San Francisco Sun-Reporter, editor.

Brig. Gen. Hugh B. Hester, retired, U.S. Army.

Judge Hon. Stanley Moffatt, South Gate, Calif.

Lynn Pruhl, Louisville, Ky.

Mr. Arthur D. Pratt, Jr., president, Flynn Christianity Fellowship Houses, Baltimore, Md.

Mr. R. L. Robertson, president, Inter-Continental Student Service Commission.

Mrs. Grace B. Sheets, Los Angeles, Calif.

Mr. H. S. Southgate, Arlington, Va.

Business/Professional

Nelson Bengston, Investment Counselor, New York.

Mr. Stanley Faulkner, attorney, New York.

Mr. Sidney J. Gluck, consultant-business executive.

Robert J. Heifetz, City Planner, New York.

Mr. Seymour Mandel, Esq., attorney, Los Angeles.
 Mr. Francis J. McTiernan, attorney, San Francisco.
 Mr. A. L. Wirin, attorney, Los Angeles.

Arts

Waldo Frank, writer, New York.
 Denise Leverton, New York, N.Y.

Upon arrival in Helsinki, the American delegates discovered that housing conditions were very bad. One delegate reported that, in the school where he was living, they slept on Russian-made double-decker bunks and folding cots. These were of poor quality and took a lot of pushing and pulling to get them to fit together. There was one cold-water sink in the 20-bed room. The school had showers in the basement and five lavatories, two of which could be reached only by going outside the building. This represented the sum total of sanitary facilities for a delegation of more than 400. Although the sanitary facilities were not very good, the opportunity for socializing was. Although the Finnish Government had stated that chaperones would be placed in each of the dormitories, there was a great deal of promiscuous sexual activity. Some of the American young Communists jokingly referred to the school in which they were housed as "hankii pankii" an obvious play on the Finnish spelling of "hanky panky."

Each delegate was handed a booklet advising him of the facilities that were available to him during the Festival. This booklet also advised him that each Festival delegation was to be controlled by a Finnish translator. The booklet said:

During the Festival a group of Finnish people who are familiar with all organization questions of the Festival will be placed in charge.

These translators were, in fact, picked members of the Finnish Communist Party, whose job it was to keep the delegation under control. In addition, the American delegation received orders from Thomas Michael Jala (Tom Morris), the Canadian Communist assigned by the World Federation of Democratic Youth to handle activities in North America.

A mimeographed sheet handed to the American delegates advised them that the only official spokesman for the delegation would be Michael Myerson. Mr. Myerson, who had been elected at the meeting of 37 persons the year before, made a broadcast over Radio Prague stating the position of his delegation as being for peace and friendship and peaceful coexistence with the socialist world. Few of the American delegates had arrived in Helsinki, and a full meeting of the U.S. Delegation had not been held. The distribution of tickets to the interdelegation meetings was in the hands of Richard Prosten, who has been active in the Mid-West Students Civil Liberties Coordinating Committee, a Communist front organization affiliated with the National Committee to Abolish the Un-American Activities Committee. Tickets to other events were given out by Norman Berkowitz, a member of the Communist youth group Advance in New York City. Registration for tours was handled by Bert Weinstein, a former student at City College in New York, who, in 1958, was a member of the Marxist discussion club at City College. This organization is now affiliated with Advance.

A letterhead of the U.S. Festival Committee with a full list of its officers follows:

United States Festival Committee, Inc.

460 PARK AVENUE SOUTH, ROOM 807
NEW YORK, 16, N. Y.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

MICHAEL TIGAR
Exec. Comm.

RICHARD PROSTEN
MGM-6000

NORMAN BERKOWITZ
Exec. Comm.

ADMINISTRATIVE BOARD

MICHAEL MYERSON
Chairman and
Executive Secretary

BERT WEINSTEIN
Assistant Executive
Secretary

MISS ALIX DORSEIN
Program Coordinator

BARBARA RABINOWITZ
Public Relations Director

NORMAN BERKOWITZ
Financial Director

February 3, 1962

Dear Friend;

Hello from us to you. We would like very much to hear from us as to local Festival activities in your area. And if they are slight, perhaps we can furnish you information to help out. It is the personal contact on a local level which we feel will achieve the most active, enthusiastic, and largest American participation at the Helsinki Festival this July.

We are enclosing a brochure, two fact sheets, and programs of Festival events. The literature pretty much gives a rundown of what we've been doing in arranging tours before and after the Festival, what we've been thinking regarding the problems involved in our work, and what we hope to be doing six months from now in July and August.

As well, we are beginning a Brotherhood Fund to enable such young Americans as Freedom Riders to go; we are simultaneously encouraging the growth of local Festival Committees in communities, unions, churches, campuses, and so on. Some of these committees are not only encouraging participation in the Festival, but are setting up scholarship funds of their own to enable the participation of minority youth and entertainers.

One other item: We have invited Astronauts Shepard and Grissom to be American participants, especially since there will be meetings at the Festival on Space travel. We understand also that the Soviet Cosmonauts Titov and Gagarin may attend.

So much for ourselves. Let us hear from you.

Cordially, for U.S. Festival Comm.

Michael Myerson
Mike Myerson, Chairman and Exec. Sec'y

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Aliases listed for identification purposes only

Young American anti-Communists joined the delegation and took advantage of the opportunity to answer Communist propaganda and make their viewpoints known to young people from behind the Iron Curtain. Among them were: Donald Quinlan, Wisconsin; Oliver Davidson, Ohio; Donald Ingels, Bonita Ingels, Duane Hill, Minnesota; Joan Lawton, Ann Eccles, Donald Devine (barred from delegation, but participated against the will of the Communists), Edward Stevens, Henry Hirschmann, Robert Burke, Hans Lippek, and Patricia Cole Romerstein, all of New York.

A public meeting sponsored by the U.S. Festival Committee was held prior to leaving for Helsinki on April 6, 1962, at the Hotel Manhattan in New York City. Speakers were Ja Kuntoh, Second Secretary of the Ghana Mission to the United Nations, and Mohamed Sahnoun, Political Assistant to the Permanent Representative of the Algerian Front of National Liberation (FLN) in the United States.

On September 19, 1962, after the Festival was over, Mike Tigar, a Festival leader, and Holland Roberts, a California Communist, both addressed a mass meeting in London which attacked the United States for "persecuting" the American Communists. The meeting was called by an English Communist front called the "British Committee for Democratic Rights in the U.S.A." Tigar also wrote an article on the Festival for the West Coast Communist newspaper, *People's World*, which was reprinted in the October 1962 issue of *New Horizons for Youth*.

Some of the American delegates were extremely naive. One who was not, Norman Berkowitz, was financial director and the east coast coordinator of the U.S. Festival Committee. He has been quoted as saying that the Festival is Communist dominated. Mr. Berkowitz would be in a position to know because of his own activities in the Communist Youth organization *Advance* in New York.⁷

Communist post-Festival activities have been very extensive all over the world. As the delegations came back to their own countries, meetings were held for them. They made speeches about the "wonderful" things that they saw in Helsinki and how the young people of the world are fighting for "peace and friendship." In the Iron Curtain countries such meetings were organized by the Communist governments. In Cuba, for example, Havana Radio reported on September 16, 1962, that—

The Union of Young Communists of Cuba announced today that the Cuban delegation of artists that took part in the Eighth World Youth Festival in Helsinki will tour the country giving performances in all the small cities and farms. This delegation won four gold medals at the Festival in Helsinki. It will give its first performance on September 17 at the Chaplin Theatre in honor of all the delegates to the World Festival.

On September 6, 1962, the U.S. Festival Committee addressed a letter to all members of the U.S. delegation asking them whether they could participate in any of the post-Festival activities, whether they were willing to speak at meetings, or could lend slides or 8-mm. film. The letter, signed by Norman Berkowitz and Bert Weinstein, for the administrative board of the U.S. Festival Committee, asked the former delegates to "agree now to serve as a speaker in your area when requests come into the national office" or "agree not to wait for requests, rather take the initiative and organize such affairs."

⁷ The quotation from Berkowitz appeared in a report by the president of the student government of City College of New York concerning the Helsinki Youth Festival which was issued to City College students.

For those outside of New York, "send us clippings of press and magazine coverage of the Festival or post-Festival analysis. Keep us informed of activities in your area."

An official Festival report was published by the U.S. Festival Committee in October of 1962. The report showed that 13,330 delegates had attended the Festival from all over the world. Of these, 435 were from the United States and 700 from the Soviet Union. Almost a thousand delegates came from Africa with another 643 from the Middle East. South America provided 612. Three thousand four hundred and eighty-eight came from Communist bloc countries, but the total number of Communists was much larger since many of the delegates from the Western countries also were Communists. England had 209 delegates, Ireland had 5, but Cuba had 425.

The American delegation consisted of 311 students out of the 435 delegates. The USFC reported that more than half of the American delegates came from the eastern region of the United States. City College of New York provided 24 delegates; the University of California at Berkeley, 23 delegates; Stanford University, 20; Yale University, 19; Columbia University, 12; Queens College, 10; the University of Chicago, 9; Los Angeles City College, 9; Brooklyn College, 7; Antioch College, 7; Harvard, 7; and the University of Wisconsin, 7. Among the working youth, 21 were schoolteachers, 10 of them coming from the New York City area.

Although many of the delegates from around the country were naive young people, out of the 24 delegates from City College in New York at least 20 have been involved in activities of the Marxist discussion club and/or Communist-led "peace" movements. One hundred and seventy-two of the American delegates visited the Soviet Union after the Festival, an unknown number visited the Soviet Union prior to the Festival.

A U.S. Festival Committee bulletin of March 1962 announced that—

USFC has established a "brotherhood fund" to enable freedom riders, race relations workers, and those active in the civil rights movement to attend the Festival.

The bulletin declared:

The efforts of the freedom riders to obtain equality for Negroes are admired all over the world. Since they are one of the major groups battling for freedom today, the USFC feels that they should have their place at the Festival. Requests for partial and full scholarships are now being accepted.

Apparently not too many of them participated in this manner. The total amount of money spent in travel expenses for recipients of scholarships, according to the financial report of the U.S. Festival Committee, was \$975, which, at most, would pay only part of the fare to bring two or three such young people to Helsinki. Before going to Helsinki, the U.S. Festival Committee announced with much fanfare that as part of the delegation's cultural program they were bringing over the "Andrew Sisters." After much confusion it became apparent that these were not the "Andrews Sisters," the well-known vocal trio, but were, in fact, some Negro gospel singers. However, when the delegation arrived in Helsinki these people didn't show up either.

The October-November (1962) issue of Communist Viewpoint, published at Communist Party headquarters in New York by Daniel Rubin, national youth director of the Communist Party, carried a

report on the Helsinki Youth Festival entitled "World Youth Festival: Fact and Fancy".⁸ Much of the report was not fact but fancy. It insisted that the Finnish youth made no protest at the Festival and that the Finnish youth organization, Council of Youth Organizations, and the student organization, National Union of Students, had participated in the Soviet-Finnish Friendship Day, which was untrue. But they also boasted, properly in this case, that "also participating was UNESCO (in one event), the World Council of Churches, and the International Student Movement to the U.N."

According to Pyotr Reshetov, Soviet Young Communist League leader writing in Moscow News, the possibilities for the next Festival site are Cuba, and Bulgaria. The next Festival, which should take place in 1965, may profit by lessons learned from this one. Apparently the freedom that was found in Helsinki was too much for the Communist movement, and now they must move their Festival back behind the Iron Curtain.

ANTI-U.S.A., THEME OF FESTIVAL

Some lessons may have been learned by the West. The Communist showed little or no interest in the Western delegates. Their interest was in the delegates from the African and Asian countries. These were the ones given the highest honors; these were the ones that had the most fuss made over them. To a great extent, the Communists were successful, although in some cases they were not. For example, a large portion of the Ceylonese delegation walked out, as did a number of Africans and Asians. The Communists nevertheless were able to impress large numbers of Africans and Asians as to the superiority of the Communist system. They showed this not with friendship, but with displays of strength. The power that they had to force the Finnish Government to make concessions to them, the power that they had to prevent non-Communists from distributing leaflets and publications offensive to them. These things were powerful arguments to the Africans and Asians, but they certainly did not impress any of the non-Communist from the West. The disciplined Communists and the naive fellow travelers would go along with anything, but any of the intelligent young delegates from non-Communist countries were made aware of the Communist control, which was open, flagrant, and brutal.

It was obvious to everyone that the Western World, and particularly the United States, was the target of Communist attacks at the Festival. In the main parade that opened the Festival, American delegates were told no political signs would be permitted, but the Japanese delegates carried fans which had written on them in English "No more Hiroshima." The Indonesian delegates carried balloons on which was printed, once again in English, "We will liberate West Iran." Speech after speech was made by the delegates, attacking "Western imperialism headed by the United States." This lesson was not lost on many of the young people who participated at the Festival. The Communists accepted it as normal and correct to attack the United States. Western non-Communists were shocked by the flagrancy of the political propaganda at a Festival that was

⁸ App. II, p. 67.

billed as "an international youth gathering for peace and friendship."

After the Festival, many of the Communist youth leaders went to Leningrad and Warsaw to attend conferences of the International Union of Students and of the World Federation of Democratic Youth, where evaluations were made of the success of the Festival. But a hard-core group of African Communists in training at the Patrice Lumumba University of Moscow and at the various training schools in Czechoslovakia were sent to Oslo, Norway, to attend an Afro-Scandinavian Youth Congress.

American delegates to the Communist Youth Festival have been the recipients of letters from behind the Iron Curtain. The letters are not the usual "pen pal" type that young people send to each other. They are Communist propaganda. A typical letter of this type was one sent in November 1962 by Xuan Oanh, a North Vietnamese Communist, to two young San Francisco delegates to the Helsinki Festival.

The text of this letter was reprinted in the January 1963 issue of the Communist magazine *Vietnam Youth*⁹ published in North Vietnam. It repeats the false Communist propaganda that the United States is the "aggressor" in South Vietnam. In fact, the United States has been helping the free government of South Vietnam protect itself from the aggression of North Vietnamese Communist Army personnel operating as guerrilla units. The Communists are fighting in South Vietnam in violation of the agreement signed by them at Geneva in 1954.

Following is the text in part:

HANOI, November 1962.

DEAR JOHNNY H. AND LINDA R., SAN FRANCISCO: This letter is addressed to both Johnny and Linda for you are living near one another. May it also be intended for all other friends.

More than 2 months have passed since our meeting at the Helsinki World Youth and Students' Festival. How quickly time goes. Just as you told me in Helsinki, if time slips by so quickly, we shall meet again shortly at the next world Festival, shall we not?

* * * * *

Indeed, dear Johnny and Linda, it is 3 months now since my return and I ceaselessly think of our friends, delegates of the youth and students of San Francisco as well as of other American cities such as New York, Chicago, Boston, New Orleans, Los Angeles, Cincinnati, Kansas City, Miami, etc., who were present at the Festival. At the same time, I think that, defying all difficulties, you have been seeking all means either to make speeches or to write press articles to report on our gathering to reveal to American citizens the truth about the situation in South Vietnam where a savage aggressive war is being waged which creates mourning to so many innocent families.

Some days ago, I received a letter from Peter L. in Montreal (Canada), relating his report made at the Toronto University on what he has witnessed of the South Vietnam situation. His report made most of the audience angry against the acts of the U.S. Government in South Vietnam. I clearly realize that everywhere the youth as well as other people love peace and justice. Therefore, they easily angered when learning that the imperialists have misused their name in committing inhuman crimes in many parts of the world. Peter is right when saying that the U.S. Government is committing the two most foolish acts in the world: the aggressive war in South Vietnam and the military blockade of Cuba. In both South Vietnam and Cuba, the danger of great clashes exists, the aftermath of which cannot be foreseen.

* * * * *

⁹ *Vietnam Youth*, January 1963, pp. 19 and 20.

52 COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL YOUTH AND STUDENT APPARATUS

We are confident that you, as well as other American youth and people who are all lovers of peace, democracy, progress, and justice, once realizing the truth, will adopt a firm attitude in staying the most savage and the most dangerous acts in South Vietnam of the U.S. ruling circles and their henchman, Ngo Dinh Diem.

* * * * *

(Signed) XUAN OANH,

Member of the Delegation of Vietnamese Youth and Students to the Helsinki Festival.

CHAPTER III. THE AFRO-SCANDINAVIAN YOUTH CONGRESS

The Afro-Scandinavian Youth Congress took place in Oslo, Norway, from August 10 to August 31, 1962. It was organized by Scandinavian young people, particularly Norwegians, who wanted to better understand the problems of Africa. The money for the Congress was raised by liberal and conservative youth and students from both Government and private sources. Non-Communists were in the leadership from the very beginning, but they made the mistake of allowing the Communists to come into the leadership with an equal voice. When the Congress convened, the non-Communists soon discovered that they were overwhelmed by African Communists studying at Lumumba University and the schools in Czechoslovakia, augmented by additional African Communists studying in various Western universities.

The Communists, playing on anti-white hatred, were able to get many of the non-Communist African delegates to vote along with them on many issues. While friendship was the official slogan of the Congress, race hate was its real underlying slogan. The African delegates applauded wildly every attack on a Western nation. There were no attacks on the "socialist" countries, because that would be "unfriendly." The Scandinavian youth had planned that this would just be a meeting with exchange of ideas and there would be no resolutions. The Communists, however, would not tolerate this. They insisted on resolutions. Finally they won their point. A group of African Communists surrounded Frank Gundersen, the Conservative Youth leader, who had worked hardest to organize the Congress. They screamed at him: "You invited us here to teach us something, well we taught you something. You said no resolutions, we wanted resolutions. We got what we wanted." The fact that Gundersen had raised the money that was feeding them and had provided beautiful rooms to house them at the Oslo University dormitories made no difference to these people.

Adult Communists from all over the world were brought in as speakers. One extremely clever pro-Communist, El Mehdi Ben Barka, identified as a trade union leader from Morocco, made a long rambling speech on political trends in Africa. The speech, which was viciously anti-West, was only occasionally pro-Soviet, but Ben Barka was roundly applauded by all the Communists and their stooges every time he made one of his vicious attacks on the United States or the other countries of the Western World.

The resolutions, of course, got completely out of hand. A resolution to the United Nations demanded that "the People's Republic of Red China be admitted to U.N. immediately." The resolution claimed that "because of the fault of U.S.A. Government, New York, the present seat of the U.N., does not guarantee security and decent living conditions for the delegates from the noncommitted countries." Resolutions also attacked Katanga, Portuguese rule in Angola, and the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Singled out for attack, however, was the Union of South Africa.

An offer by the Scandinavian students of free trips for Africans to see the Berlin wall was rejected with hysterical speeches by African Communists threatening to walk out if anyone tried again to "involve them in the cold war."

A special resolution was passed attacking the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. When Scandinavian delegates protested that these were matters that were involved in the cold war, in which the Africans claimed they had no interest, the Africans insisted they had an interest in anything they wanted to and proceeded to pass their resolutions. After spending days attacking the Western countries and particularly the United States and insisting they wanted no help from them, the delegates passed a resolution asking that the United Nations provide economic assistance to the African countries. They neglected to point out where the bulk of the United Nations funds would come from to provide this economic assistance.

After days of talk about national independence, a resolution criticizing the Helsinki Festival organizers for forcing their Festival on Finland was defeated. This prompted applause in unison, led by the pro-Moscow and pro-Prague Africans.

While most of the delegates were unable to explain what they meant by neocolonialism, many of them got up to speak against it and a number of resolutions were passed against it. They usually referred to the United States as the neocolonialist power and finally decided that European Common Market was also neocolonialist. They passed a resolution condemning the Government of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and praising an organization which had been established in Stockholm to provide money for Kenneth Kaunda and his organization UNIP. The Scandinavian organization called Rhodiakampanjen had wide support among liberals in Sweden, including the owners of a number of Swedish newspapers. The question had been raised by some of the conservatives, however, as to whether some of the contributors to this organization were in fact interested in gaining concessions in the Congo and Rhodesia, as the present owners of these business concessions were driven out. The organization provided money for Kenneth Kaunda in his campaign against Sir Roy Welensky, the Prime Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. A number of delegates from UNIP (United National Independence Party of Northern Rhodesia), were present at the Afro-Scandinavian Youth Congress. They cooperated closely with the Southern Rhodesian group which represented ZAPU (Zimbabwe African Peoples Union). A month after the Afro-Scandinavian Youth Congress, ZAPU was banned in Rhodesia when it was discovered that leaders of the organization were storing arms for an insurrection against the Government.

Delegates were also present from the UGEAN, the General Union of Students from Black Africa under Portuguese Colonial Domination. This group is actively insurrectionist in Angola where it participates with the terrorist movements of Holden Roberto and de Andrade. Many of the representatives of these terrorist groups were attending schools in Moscow and Prague. The following are the leaders and organizers of UGEAN, who participated in the founding Congress in Rabat, Morocco, in September 1961.

Executive Committee of UGEAN; Desidério Graca, President of UGEAN; Alberto Passos, Vice-President for Foreign Affairs; Carlos Correia, Vice-President

for Social and Cultural Affairs; Daniel Neves, Vice-President for Press and Information; José Fret, Secretary-General in charge of the Treasury.

Provisional Steering Committee of UGEAN: Luis José d'Almeida, Angola; José Fret, Sao Thomé and Príncipe; Jose Carlos Horta, Mozambique; Carlos Rocha, Angola; Edmundo Rocha, Angola.

Preparatory Secretariat of the Congress: Ahmed Lahlimi, UNEM; Omar Chbouki, UNEM; Abdelhamid Berrada, UNEM; Edmundo Rocha, UGEAN; Luis José d'Almeida, UGEAN.

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

Delegates: Dulce Almada, Cape Verde; Luis Almeida, Angola; Silvio Almeida, Angola; Serafina Assis, Angola; Rui de Carvalho, Angola; Carlos Correia, "Portuguese" Guinea; Laio de Figueiredo, Angola; Gil Fernandes, Guinea "Portuguese"; Jose Ferreira, Angola; Jose Fret, Sao Thomé and Príncipe; Luisa Gaspar, Angola; Carlos Goncalves, Angola; Marcelino da Goya "Portuguese" Guinea; Desidero, Graça, Angola; José Carlos Horta, Mozambique; Silvestra Lopes, Angola; Mateus da Silva, Angola; Manuel Sodre, Angola; Antonio Tomas Medeiros, Sao Thomé and Príncipe; Jose Miguel, Angola; Mateus Neto, Angola; Ruth Neto, Angola; Daniel Neves, Cape Verde; Fernando Paiva, Angola; Alberto Passos, Angola; Antonio José Pereira Africano Neto, Angola; Manuel Pinto da Costa, Sao Thomé and Príncipe; Bento Riberio, Angola; Carlos Rocha, Angola; Edmundo Rocha, Angola; Carlos Rubio, Angola.

Delegates prevented from coming: Samuel Abrigada, Angola; Filipe Amado, Angola; Rui Castro Lopo, Angola; Joaquim Alberto Chissano, Mozambique; Albano Cordeiro, Mozambique; Alexandre Correia, "Portuguese" Guinea; Pedro Filipe, Angola; Jacinto Fortunato, Angola; Mario Klington, Angola; Antonio Macedo, Angola; Pascoal Mocumbi, Mozambique; Joao Jamissa Nyambi, Mozambique; Deolinda Rodrigues, Angola; Ana Francisca Simeao, Mozambique.

Observers: UNEM—Hamid Jouahri and Said Nejjar; UGEMA—Ali Hamadache; FEANF—Pierre Djime; UGEAO—Emile Ologoudou; UNEB—Herman Baeta; UBES—Diniz Cabral Filho; USNSA—Thomas Turner; NUSEWNU—Robert Watson; VDS—Klaus Meschkat and Ignaz Bender; IUS—José Venegas; COSEC—Lovemore Mutambanengwe.

Mario de Andrade is a well-known Communist who heads the "People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola." He has made broadcasts to his homeland over Radio Moscow (for example, August 20, 1962). Holden Roberto heads a rival Communist terrorist group called "The Union of Angolan Peoples." On October 17, 1962, Radio Moscow broadcast an appeal by Eduardo Makombi, head of the Communist Angolan Youth Union, demanding that the two rival groups unite.

Yaw Assiedu, a Ghanaian student in Prague University, was the contact man at the Congress for the South African Communist Party, which has the responsibility of running all the Communist Parties in Africa. This delegate has written letters to the underground magazine of the South African Communist Party, the African Communist. There he wrote:

As an African and as a Socialist, I must congratulate the South African Communist Party for this work. My congratulations to you and all comrades for the fight of the freedom of the proletariat and for the liquidation of capitalism.

Assiedu was one of the key Communist leaders in the Prague group.

At one of the sessions, F. Mohammed El Faol, a 26-year-old Sudanese student from Prague, observed a Portuguese student sitting in the visitors' gallery. He immediately began to scream that Portuguese fascist agents were watching the conference. Although the conference itself was open to the press and to the public, a vote was taken and the Portuguese student forced to leave. When the session was over, a group of students questioned El Faol about why he did this. He screamed and said that the man was Portuguese and that it didn't

really matter if he wasn't a spy, the Portuguese are the enemy and have to be driven out. When an American questioned his belief in democracy, El Faol answered, "If you people don't like the way we act, we will have to kill you."

Raymond Kunene, a 32-year-old South African student in London, ran around the conference wearing a Cuban Communist button that he had received at the Helsinki Youth Festival. In answer to questions, he stated that he hated the United States and that he was glad to see the Cubans talking back to the United States. Kunene made a flamboyant speech August 23, 1962, on a street corner in Oslo, in which he predicted bloodshed in the Union of South Africa. He said he, himself was prepared to go and fight.

The chief of the Communist group at the Conference and the man who called the signals was Ademola Igbo a Nigerian studying in Prague. He is 32 years of age. He was amply assisted by the 28-year-old Somalian student Abdellatif M. Hussen, also studying in Prague. Attempts by Americans to speak to these people were almost fruitless. They believed quite seriously that lynchings take place in the United States every day. When a Norwegian newspaper carried stories of discrimination against Negro students in Moscow, which resulted in the defection of a number of the Africans, all of the Moscow representatives at the Congress issued a statement which insisted that there was no discrimination in the Soviet Union, but that there was discrimination in New York. The statement claimed that Negroes were lynched in New York, that United Nations delegates from the uncommitted countries were being persecuted by the people in New York, that they were denied places to live and that in fact New York was a racist city, not Moscow.

A number of the Scandinavian delegates interviewed afterward indicated that the Congress was a success, if only that it showed the Scandinavians how much hatred there was in these people. The vicious anti-Western—and particularly anti-white—feelings that they exhibited will be taken into consideration by the Scandinavian students in the future when they have dealings with these people.

The climax of the Congress was when African delegates stood up to advise the Scandinavians that they believe that the next Congress should be held in Africa, but that the Scandinavians should pay for it. They said that they appreciated particularly having their evenings free because they enjoyed the dates that they had with Norwegian girls.

A list of the Communist and pro-Communist delegates to the Oslo Congress follows:

Name	Born	Nationality	Place of study	Nominating organization
Abd El Mahmoud, F. A.	1939	Sudan	Moscow	KVSU.
Angemon, A. R.	1934	Dahomey	Prague, Czechoslovakia	U.D.E.A.T.
Alamada, Maria D.	1933	Cap Vert		UGEAN.
Assiedu, Yaw		Ghana	Prague, Czechoslovakia	UASOz.
Banda, R. B.	1937	Northern Rhodesia	Lund, Sweden	UNIP.
Bielenberg, Tore Jarl	1935	Norway	Oslo, Norway	KSL.
Bojer, Hilde	1939	do.	do.	Sos. Stud.
Carvalho Santos, H. de	1940	Angola	Heidelberg, Germany	UGEAN.
Chalabesa, Emanuel		Northern Rhodesia	Stockholm, Sweden	UNIP.
Chissano, J. A.	1939	Mozambique	Poitiers, France	UGEAN.
Dansokoho, A.	1938	Senegal	Toulouse, France	Do.
Diallo, S.	1937	Hindu Volta	Lyon, France	FEANF.
El Faol, F. M.	1936	Sudan	Prague	KUSU.
Enerstvedt, Regi	1938	Norway		NKU.
Gaspar, Maria L.	1938	Angola	Frankfurt/Germany	UGEAN.
Hashi, Ahmed Abdi	1937	Somalia	Moscow	SSO. U.S.S.R.
Hussen Abdellatif, M.	1934	do.	Prague	UASOz.
Igbo Ademola	1930	Nigeria	do.	UASOz.
Kombo, Msanifu	1930	Tanganyika	Kenya	KANU.
Kunene, Raymond	1930	South Africa	London	SA.
Larsson, Laila	1939	Sweden	Moscow	DU.
Lund, Walter	1940	Norway	Oslo	Komm. Stud.
Ly, Ibrahim	1936	Mali	Toulouse	FEANF.
Matipa, Henry Kosam	1938	Northern Rhodesia	Leipzig	UNIP.
Mobia, Blaise	1936	Cote d'Ivoire	Paris	FEANF.
Mohamed Ali Bob, B.	1929	Sudan	Prague	UASOz.
Monteiro, Armand	1937	Dahomey	Strasbourg	FEANF.
Mubaki, Sim Veke	1936	Southern Rhodesia	Dublin, London	ZAPU.
Mukahlera, Agrippa W.	1934	do.		Do.
Okee, Jekeri	1934	Uganda	Berlin	USS.
Oyaka, Laban	1933	do.	Leipzig	Do.
Passos, Alberto de Jesus	1939	Angola	Cologne	UGEAN.
Rashid, Salim Said	1941	Zanzibar	London	ZSG.
Speishagen, Karl		Norway	Blindern	Komm. Stud.
Teles Carreira, H.	1934	Angola	Rabat	UGEAN.
Tembo, Lastone David	1940	Northern Rhodesia	Moscow	UNIP.
Thiam, Bocar Madani	1937	Mali	Paris	FEANF.
Voss Filomene De Sa	1939	Angola	Freiburg	UGEAN.

These were persons who either expressed themselves as Communists, attended school in the Communist countries, or represented organizations under Communist control at the Congress.

COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL TRAINING SCHOOL

Many of the Communist students came from Lumumba University in Moscow. Lumumba University was opened November 17, 1960, with a speech by Nikita Khrushchev. Prior to the opening of the university, 600 Africans were already in training in the U.S.S.R. With Lumumba University and other similar schools for the training of people from Africa, Asia, and Latin America, the Soviet Union now boasts that 20,000 students in these areas are studying in the Soviet Union (Radio Moscow, Oct. 10, 1962). Included in this figure are the 3,000 Cubans studying in the Soviet Union.

Lumumba University—originally called Friendship University—is controlled by the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, the Union of Soviet Societies of Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries and the All Union Central Council of Trade Unions. The school has facilities for 4,000 students; tuition is free. All students receive scholarships, free medical and dormitory accommodations. Their fares to Moscow and back are paid by the university. Those

Lumumba University students observed at Oslo were completely dedicated Communists with a savage hatred for the West.

A network of such schools exists in Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, East Germany, and other Communist countries. These are under the auspices of the International Union of Students.

In 1961, schools were set up in Cuba to train Latin Americans in sabotage, and political and guerrilla warfare. Director of the "Revolutionary Instruction Schools" is Lionel Soto, a Cuban graduate of the training school in Prague, Czechoslovakia. Students at the schools include representatives of the following organizations:

Confederación Universitaria Boliviana (CUB) Bolivia.
 Uniao Nacional dos Estudantes do Brasil (UNEB), Brazil.
 Unión de Federaciones Universitarias de Chile (UFUCH), Chile.
 Unión Naciona de Estudiantes Colombianos (UNEC), Colombia.
 Federación Estudiantil Universitaria (FEU), Cuba.
 Federación de Estudiantes Universitarios Dominicanos en Exilio (FEDE), Dominican Republic.
 Federación de Estudiantes Universitarios del Ecuador (FEUE), Ecuador.
 Progressive Youth and Student Organization, British Guiana.
 Union des Etudiants Guyanais (UEG), French Guiana.
 Asociación de Estudiantes Universitarios (AEU), Guatemala.
 Association Générale des Etudiants de la Martinique (AGEM), Martinica.
 Centro Universitario de la Universidad Nacional (CUUN), Nicaragua.
 Federación de Estudiantes de Panamá (FEP), Panama.
 Federación de Estudiantes del Peru (FEP), Peru.
 Federación de Universitarios Pro Independencia (FUPI), Puerto Rico.
 Federación de Centros Universitarios (FCU), Venezuela.

But the going has not all been good at Lumumba University or at the other schools in Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, East Germany, and the Soviet Union. There have been frequent complaints of discrimination from the African students. They speak of students being beaten up for being seen in the company of white girls, etc. But, of the thousands of students, relatively few have defected. The dedicated, disciplined Communists that are being turned out are an extremely dangerous crew.

CHAPTER IV. THE AMERICAN YOUNG COMMUNISTS AND THEIR FUTURE PLANS

Having returned from the Helsinki Youth Festival, young Communists in the United States are continuing their activities. Daniel Rubin, National Youth Director of the Communist Party, in an article for the October 1962 issue of Political Affairs, the theoretical organ of the Communist Party, U.S.A., described the Youth Festival as follows:

U.S. participation in the World Youth Festival * * * illustrates once again that the young generation is dissatisfied with the old conditions and answers and is searching for a new way forward. The Eighth Festival in Helsinki was the most representative of diverse political trends and backgrounds since the start of the cold war. Leaders of the national youth and student movements attended as delegates or observers from such countries as Guinea, Ghana, Egypt, Indonesia, Ceylon, Algeria, Brazil, France, etc., in addition to those from the socialist countries. Greetings to the Festival came from the King of Nepal, President of Liberia, Prime Minister of Ceylon, President of Brazil, and many others.

This was not actually true, as the delegation from Ghana actually came from Communist universities behind the Iron Curtain and the Egyptian delegation was in opposition to their government. In addition, the Prime Minister of Ceylon, after first greeting the Festival, then urged the Ceylonese delegates to come home. Rubin went on to say, "Only a tiny minority of the Finnish people opposed the Festival. Even the Student Union, which had been opposed, became neutral." This, too, of course, was untrue. Rubin also insisted that "a great variety of points of view, including State Department views, were expressed at many events." He failed to note, however, that such points of view were often suppressed. Rubin went on:

Most significant, however, was the presence of 450 young people from the United States, the largest and most representative U.S. participation. Leaders of many of the countries' major liberal student organizations were there. Such participation represents the first major contact with youths from socialist countries and a beginning of the end of the cold war on the youth level.

Rubin expressed the hope that "it is now within reach that major U.S. youth groups will respond favorably to Festivals, forums, and other international youth approaches."

The 17th National Convention of the Communist Party held in December 1959 decided to reorganize the National Youth Commission of the Communist Party, and to begin the organization of local Communist-led youth groups which would be eventually united into a nationwide organization.

Daniel Rubin was appointed National Youth Director soon after this. Due to the severe faction fight taking place at that time among the young Communists in New York, Rubin transferred his residence from Philadelphia to New York and moved a group of young Philadelphians into the Communist Party of New York during 1960-61. Among them were Dave and Alva Buxenbaum, Beth Leib, Lionel Lipson, and Karen Kulik (now Mrs. Lionel Lipson). The last named two attended the Helsinki Festival. Beth Leib is now

employed at Communist Party headquarters, 23 West 26th Street, New York City, as a receptionist.

By November of 1961, most of the leaders of the "left-wing" faction had been expelled from the Communist Party. Nevertheless, Rubin showed little trust in the remaining New York young Communists. They were divided into four Communist Party branches, Upper and Lower Manhattan, Brooklyn, and Student. Danny Rubin appointed himself coordinator (chairman) of the Student Branch, and his wife Dorothy, coordinator of the Brooklyn Branch. Another Philadelphian heads the Upper Manhattan Branch, while a New Yorker heads the Lower Manhattan Branch. A committee consisting of these coordinators runs the Communist youth movement in the New York District. Chairman of this committee is New Yorker, Marvin Markman, but Rubin and his Philadelphia cohorts control three of the five votes on the committee.

On June 10, 1963, the Subversive Activities Control Board held hearings concerning the Communist Party membership of Daniel Rubin. During the testimony of Allen R. Prince, and Floyd Rogers, former FBI undercover agents in the Communist Party, approximately 25 young Communists and pro-Communists picketed the hearings. Those inside the hearing room appeared shocked as Prince revealed the inner workings of the Communist youth apparatus and named previously unidentified members of the Communist Party. Until the FBI brought him to the surface Prince was highly trusted by the Communist Party. Among the Communist Party members participating in the picketing were: Rochelle Hirschman, Marvin Markman, and Lionel Lipson.

Danny Rubin addressed a conference of the Progressive Youth Organizing Committee on June 22, 1963. He told the assembled youth that next Fall the Subversive Activities Control Board would hold hearings on "Advance" youth organization. At these hearings, Rubin said, mass demonstrations must be held, both inside and outside the hearing room. This is the same technique used by the Communists in May 1960, to disrupt the hearings of the House Committee on UnAmerican Activities in San Francisco.

Rubin, in his Political Affairs article, after stating that "he who has the support of the youth has the future," went on to say that "the influence of Communists among youth has grown to some extent. Now many students consider the CP a legitimate and necessary participant in the great debate on Communism and out country's objectives." He also boasted of the growth and distribution of the magazine *New Horizons for Youth*, of which he was the first editor and of which Communist Party member Lionel Lipson, a Helsinki delegate, is now the editor. Rubin also claimed that the Communist-organized Progressive Youth Organizing Committee has also "shown growth." Rubin revealed that "there is now a monthly youth bulletin of analysis, 'Communist Viewpoint'." He announced that "this writer [Rubin] is now accepting speaking engagements and attending youth conferences as a Communist youth leader." And that "a draft of a Communist program for youth is now being circulated for public comment and other pamphlets and materials expressing the ideas of Communists on matters of concern to youth are being published."

Rubin called for the formation of a nationwide Marxist-oriented youth organization in the near future. As yet there are only local Communist controlled youth organizations functioning. Advance, in New York; Youth for Peace and Socialism, Los Angeles; and Socialist Youth Union, in Philadelphia are examples of this.

The Socialist Youth Union had as its first president Aaron Lipson, a member of the National Youth Commission of the Communist Party. Its vice president more recently was Lionel Lipson, also a Communist Party member and now the editor of New Horizons for Youth. Lionel Lipson has moved from Philadelphia to New York. Cochairman of Socialist Youth Union is Communist Party member Sandra Patrinos, a Helsinki delegate. The President of Advance in New York is Mike Stein, a Communist Party member who attended the Moscow World Youth Forum. Marvin Markman, the executive Vice President of Advance, was at the Vienna Youth Festival in 1959. He is a Communist Party member. Communist Party Member Rochelle Hirschman has been a Vice President of Advance. She is employed at the headquarters of the Communist Party and has written for The Worker and New Horizons for Youth. The Coordinating Committee for the Communist Youth movement is the Progressive Youth Organizing Committee, which has as its chairman Alva Buxenbaum, a Communist Party member who attended the Moscow World Youth Forum. Vice Chairman is Marvin Markman. David Buxenbaum is Secretary.

Every action of American students that aids Soviet foreign policy is well reported behind the Iron Curtain. On October 23, 1962, Radio Peking reported:

American students from George Washington University and two high schools picketed the White House last night within an hour of U.S. President Kennedy's bellicose speech on Cuba, a Washington report disclosed. The students carried hand-lettered placards demanding "No gunboat diplomacy." During the demonstration local policemen encircled these students, who are members of the Student Peace Union.

CUBA TRIP

On November 29, 1962, Radio Havana announced that "some 80 students from the United States have expressed their desire to travel to Cuba despite all obstacles" during the Christmas holidays. The group, which called itself the "Ad Hoc Student Committee for Travel to Cuba" was headed by Steve Martinot of Columbia University and Anatol Schlosser of New York University. Unknown to most of the members of the student group was the fact that the Castro government of Cuba was paying the air fare for the group from Canada to Cuba. The Canadian Government prevented the group from going to Cuba. Also unknown to the majority of the young people was the fact that Steve Martinot is a member of the Progressive Labor Student Club, a Communist Party faction which supports the Albanians in the current dispute.¹

In April of 1963, the group was reorganized as the "Permanent Student Committee For Travel To Cuba." At a meeting held by the group April 20, 1963, potential "travelers" were advised that 86 students would be permitted to go and all must have valid passports. The fee would be \$100, the rest being paid by the Cuban Federation of University Students (FEU).

¹ Columbia Spectator, Nov. 14, 1962, and Political Affairs, January 1962.

On June 30, 1963, fifty-nine American Students arrived in Cuba in violation of U.S. Department of State regulations. They had flown to Cuba via Cubana Airlines from Prague, Czechoslovakia. (Note: Round trip air fare to Europe is more than five times the fee paid by the students.) Leading the group was Levi Laub, a student at Columbia University, who together with Steve Martinot was an organizer of the Progressive Labor Student Club. The Columbia Spectator of November 14, 1962, quoted Martinot and Laub as saying, "We consider ourselves Marxists-Leninists. Whatever name you want to call us—Communist, Socialist—if it fits we'll wear it." Press chief of the delegation to Cuba was Philip Abbott Luce, who has been identified as a functionary of the Communist front Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

COMMUNIST SPEAKERS IN SCHOOLS

The Communists continue their interest in American young people, and the desire to send Communist speakers to American schools has, if anything, increased. J. Edgar Hoover in a recent report revealed that from late October 1961 to May 1962, leaders of the Communist Party, U.S.A., made 48 speeches before groups of college students all across the Nation. A letter has been sent out by Arnold Johnson, a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, to all editors of college newspaper and student councils. Johnson signed the letter as Director of the Lecture and Information Bureau, Communist Party, U.S.A. The letter reads in part as follows:

May we request you to invite representatives of the Communist Party to speak at forums of the student body of your school in the 1962-63 college year, either in the form of lecturers, participation in symposia, or in debates. During the past year, Communist spokesmen addressed more than 30 colleges and universities, which [appearances] were attended by approximately 75,000 students and townspeople. The colleges and universities included, among others, Harvard Law School, the University of Chicago, Brown University, Columbia, the University of Oregon, Western Reserve, the University of Wisconsin, Swarthmore, New York University, the University of Pennsylvania, Washington University, Stanford, the University of Minnesota, Reed College, Colby College, Brandeis University, City College of New York, Hamilton College, Hunter College, Temple University, Upsala, Bowdoin, and many others.

In the coming year, Communist activists will appear on the Nation's campuses giving lectures. Some will appear as open members of the Communist Party. Others will represent the Progressive Youth Organizing Committee or the local Communist youth organizations such as Advance or Socialist Youth Union. Still others will represent "civil rights" or "civil liberties" groups. The desire of the Communists to organize American young people has not subsided. As the older members of the Communist Party die off or go to prison, new cadres are needed to fill their ranks. These they hope to recruit from American young people.

APPENDIX I

(This document, printed in red and black on pages 8½ x 11 inches was not allowed to enter Finland.)

Special Report

FESTIVAL CONTROL

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UPI PHOTO

Behind the Shows and Smiles...

A delegate to one of the World Festivals of Youth and Students is quickly put at his ease by a flutter of smiling welcomes—like those of the pretty Chinese contingent on our cover, snapped at the 1959 (Vienna) Festival. Then for almost two weeks, one's senses are overwhelmed by expertly staged Festival shows, each more spectacular than the last. And so, at the end many a delegate returns home happily exhausted—and, somehow, full of Communist slogans...

Today, there is little doubt in the mind of any neutral and objective observer that each of the Festivals has been a Communist-run and financed event designed to serve Communist ends. Communist aims of world domination have not changed, and there is overwhelming evidence that this year's Festival (the eighth since 1947), scheduled for Helsinki July 28 to August 6, will be much in line with the others.

However disguised, Festival control and leadership is firmly in the hands of Komsomol, the Young Communist League of

the USSR. Recent history, moreover, has established an intimate connection between Komsomol/Festival leadership and the Secret Police, the USSR's dreaded means of imposing totalitarian control upon its own citizens—and upon the citizens of those neighboring countries and territories the Red Army "liberates."

A. N. Shelepin and V. Y. Semichastny have both been Komsomol First Secretaries. Semichastny is now chairman of the Soviet Committee for State Security (or KGB, the current euphemism for the Secret Police.) Shelepin was his predecessor. In view of this connection between Komsomol leadership (with its participation in the organization of the Festivals) and the organs of worldwide Soviet subversion, all assertions, however often repeated, that the Festivals are genuine youth events aimed at strengthening friendly cooperation among the youth of all nations have, to say the least, a hollow ring. But let the facts speak for themselves...

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Aleksandr Nikolaevich Shelepin

Secretary, Central Committee of the
Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU)

Shelepin was born in 1918, one year after the Revolution, in Voronezh on the banks of the Don. Thus, he is the first person born after 1917 to rise to a position of leadership in the Soviet State and Party. He finished his formal education in 1935 with graduation from Moscow's Institute of History, Philosophy and Literature, and immediately he became a propagandist for various Communist youth groups in Moscow. In 1940 he was admitted to the Party, and elected member of its Central Committee in 1952.

In 1943 he was made one of the secretaries of Komsomol's Central Committee, and from 1952 to 1958 he was its First Secretary. During this period, he often accused his fellow Komsomol members of having been poorly reared for communism, and he especially attacked those he said misrepresented "Soviet reality" while pursuing "alien" tastes, including "vulgar dancing, and abstractionist paintings and sculpture." (*Tass*, Moscow, April 15, 1958.)

He also often denounced young people who wanted white collar jobs in preference to factory or farm work—although all his life Shelepin had held only white collar jobs, except for a brief interlude in the Soviet army, presumably as an officer, from 1939 to 1940. His military career consists mainly of having participated in the Soviet invasion of Finland. The Scandinavian country was pitched against overwhelming odds—nine Finnish divisions against 45 Soviet divisions—and the war lasted only three months. In the treaty of March 1940, the USSR annexed a tenth of Finland.

Beginning in 1945, Shelepin became a well-known figure in Communist-sponsored international student and youth events. He was active in the International Union of Students (IUS) from its foundation, and for many years one of its vice-presidents. He later transferred his activities to the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY), and was

in charge of the VI World Festival of Youth and Students held in Moscow in 1957. At the Fourth Congress of WFDY in Kiev he was elected First Vice-President of WFDY, a position he continued to hold even after he was appointed head of the Soviet Secret Police in December of 1958. The Kremlin has always persisted in denying that the IUS and WFDY are its chief tools of subversion and espionage throughout the youth world. But in 1958 when he was appointed KGB chief, it was rightly pointed out that one so young as Shelepin would be unlikely to be accorded such a significant post in the Soviet spy system without previous vocational experience....

Shelepin's appointment as Chairman of the Soviet Committee for State Security (KGB), as the Secret Police is euphemistically called, was made by Khrushchev and unanimously approved by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on December 25, 1958.

Recently, Shelepin's activity has received little publicity. He was actively engaged in preparations for the VII Festival held in Vienna in 1959, and afterwards in September of that year he was a member of the CPSU delegation to the celebrations of the 10th anniversary of the Chinese People's Republic in Peking (delegation headed by Khrushchev).

In October of 1961, at the 22nd Congress of the CPSU, Shelepin's appointment to the Secretariat was announced. The CPSU's Secretariat is a nine-member body—headed by Khrushchev and his deputy, Frol Kozlov—directing the day-to-day activities of communism throughout the world. On the occasion of this new appointment, Shelepin made a speech in which he eulogized his boss, Khrushchev, and attacked the "anti-Party group" of Molotov, Malenkov, et al. He also warned the Soviet people by declaring that "the acts of ... the enemies of the Soviet State will be punished ... with all severity." (*Pravda*, Moscow, October 27, 1961.)

TERROR UNDER MANY NAMES

We must encourage

Following the October Revolution in 1917, Lenin's Government, since it represented only a small minority, could not assert itself without recourse to terror and violence. On December 20, 1917—a few weeks after the Revolution—the Cheka (from the Russian initials for the Extraordinary Commission for Combating Counter-Revolution, Sabotage, and Speculation) was established by the Council of People's Commissars. Thus, a secret police system was set up—and although its name has changed several times, its terror remains a constant element of Communist rule to this very day—and Soviet secret policemen are still called "chekists." A

brief history follows. Space, however, prevents a full listing of the *known* crimes....

1917-1922: CHEKA

At once, Cheka engaged in large-scale terror. On February 22, 1918 every local Soviet was ordered "to seek out, arrest, and shoot immediately all [persons] connected in one form or another with counterrevolutionary organizations." Prominent Cheka official, Martin Latsis, reported that during the first 19 months of "operations", 8,389 persons were executed, 9,496 persons were sent to concentration camps, and 34,334 persons were imprisoned. (This

is only a *partial* listing from Latsis's own inhuman catalogue found in his book, *Two Years of Fighting on the Internal Front*, Moscow, 1920). Latsis later declared, "We are no longer waging war against separate individuals, we are exterminating the bourgeoisie as a class."

1922-1934: CPU/OGPU

After the end of the Civil War (1917-1922) which followed Lenin's seizure of power, and the inauguration of the NEP (the New Economic Policy, practiced by the Bolshevik Government from 1921 to 1928 with the aim of restoring the econo-



Vladimir Yefimovich Semichastny

Chairman, Soviet Committee for State Security (KGB)

Semichastny was born in 1924. He studied at the Chemical-Technical Institute in Kemerov in the western Siberian territories of the USSR. In 1942 Semichastny became an active Komsomol worker, and in 1949 he was admitted to Party membership. His first Komsomol position—Cadres Secretary—came in 1946 and from then on his rise was rapid: 1947-50, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Komsomol; 1950-58, Secretary of the Central Committee of the All-Union Komsomol; finally, he reached the Komsomol top when he was made First Secretary in 1958 in which year he was credited with having organized 34,000 "voluntary" youth brigades.

Starting in March of the following year, Semichastny was made head of the CPSU Central Committee's Department of Party Organs in the Soviet Republics. Then from August 1959 to November 1961 he was the Second Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in Azerbaïdzhan, the constituent Soviet Republic bordering on Iran.

It was, however, during his Komsomol reign that Semichastny first came to international notoriety: In the presence of a beaming Khrushchev, the Komsomol First Secretary called the late poet-novelist, Boris Pasternak, a "mangy sheep" and "pig." This occurred on October 29, 1958 in Semichastny's keynote address during Komsomol's 40th Anniversary Meeting when he suddenly abandoned his topic, a review of the history of Komsomol, to hurl virulence upon the Nobel Prize winner. Terming Pasternak's great novel, *Doctor Zhivago*, "trashy" and "a lampoon against the Socialist order, socialism, and Marxism," he claimed that although "this man [Pasternak] has lived in our midst . . . [he] has decided to spit into the face of our people." There-

upon, Semichastny called for the exile of the aged writer. (*Radio Moscow*, October 29, 1958.) This episode in Semichastny's career has clearly done away with any need for guesswork about his attitude on the freedom of the individual with which, in one way or another, he is concerned in his present post. . . .

On November 13, 1961 Semichastny replaced Shelepin as chief of the Soviet Committee for State Security (the Soviet Secret Police or KGB), the "internal security organization" concerned with, among other things, "political" crimes of Soviet citizens and with counter-espionage. In the past, the KGB was headed by men like Lavrenti Beria, and General Ivan Serov, one-time close associate of Khrushchev and the immediate predecessor of Shelepin and Semichastny.

Shortly after his KGB appointment, Semichastny accompanied Khrushchev to Novosibirsk where the Soviets had summoned President Kekkonen of Finland for "consultations." This meeting, like the forthcoming VIII Festival of Youth and Students, is another blatant instance of the Soviet Union's long-time bullying of neutral Finland and meddling in her internal affairs. The meeting is said to have been concerned directly with Finland's elections. When they were held last February, the standing joke in Helsinki was that Finnish elections had already been held months ago—in Novosibirsk, USSR.

Like Shelepin, the present Soviet Secret Police Chief was active in Communist international youth front events, especially those sponsored by the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY). In March of 1953, Semichastny, whose present KGB post is universally a symbol of 20th century disregard for the rights young and old alike, attended in Vienna the WFDY-sponsored "International Conference for the Defense of the Rights of Youth." And like Shelepin, Semichastny has been awarded the Order of Lenin, the Order of the Red Star, and numerous other decorations.

the energy and mass character of terror . . . — Lenin on June 20, 1918 (*Selected Works*, 4th ed., Moscow 1951; Vol. XXXV, p. 275)

my by making concessions to private enterprise in agriculture, trade and industry, and of neutralizing the peasants politically), the Cheka—symbol of terrorism, illegality and death—was out of place. Thus, on February 8, 1922 it was abolished—if only in name—and its functions transferred to the newly created GPU (State Political Administration). On November 15, 1923 an enlarged OGPU (Unified State Political Administration) was set up. Cheka's chief, Feliks Dzerzhinsky, however, continued as head . . .

- "agencies" abroad are established
- in addition to previous functions, OGPU ac-

quires censorship of all publications, plays, and films; administration of frontier areas with the command of border troops; enforcement of the obligatory internal passport system; jurisdiction over all institutions of detention

- apart from the express powers of banishment, arrest, search and detention, the OGPU acquires wide powers to fulfill the "special instructions" of the Party "for the protection of the revolutionary order"
- mass executions of Socialists in Georgia after the uprising in 1924
- "implements" the policy of agricultural collectivization which results in the mass liquidation of peasants; an estimated five million peasant families disappear (Concise

Encyclopaedia of Russia, London, 1691, p. 120; and later Stalin admits to Churchill that as many as ten million peasants "were dealt with" during this period, and "the great bulk [of them were] wiped out." (Winston Churchill, *The Second World War*, Vol. IV, pp. 447-8; London 1951)

1934-1946: NKVD

By a series of decrees issued in July of 1934, the OGPU was absorbed in a re-organized People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD), which took over all police and security functions, includ-

(Continued on page 4)

TERROR...

(Continued from page 3)

ing the administration of the rapidly growing forced labor camps and the exploitation of their inmates for industrial schemes.

- the Great Purge (sometimes called Yezhovshchina for the then Secret Police Chief Yezhov, reaches its climax in 1936-1938; it involves a reign of terror without parallel in Soviet history; the Bolshevik Old Guard is destroyed, the senior officer corps of the armed forces suffers severely; other strata are affected on a large scale—millions of innocent people are arbitrarily dealt with as "traitors, terrorists, and enemies of the state"
- mass arrests and deportations in the newly occupied areas of Poland after the Nazi-Soviet Pact, and in the Baltic States after the Soviet occupation of 1940
- mass deportations and/or liquidations of entire ethnic groups (mostly Asian) considered "unreliable": the Kalmyks, Chechens, Ingush, Crimean Tatars, Kabards, Balkars, etc.
- millions of persons in "corrective labor camps"

1946-1954: MGB

Due to a reorganization of the Government during this period, the NKVD was split into two ministries, one of Internal Affairs (MVD), and one of State Security (MGB).

- arrests of indigenous "unreliable" elements in territories "liberated" by the Red Army (this activity started in 1944-1945, but Soviet Secret Police terror continued, in some cases, until well into 1950's, e.g., in Hungary)
- engineering of the Communist takeovers in Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia
- suppression of the workers' uprising in East Berlin in June, 1953
- substantial increase in espionage activity abroad, especially in connection with American and British atomic research

1954 to the Present: KGB

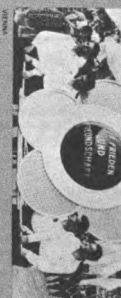
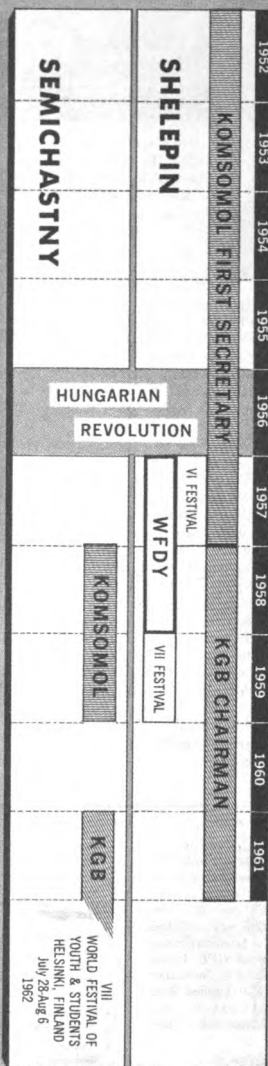
In the post-Stalin era, the new Party leaders downgraded the Secret Police from MGB to KGB (i.e., from a Ministry to a Committee for State Security). The scope of its powers, especially in the judicial field, was somewhat limited, and control of the vast Soviet labor camp empire was transferred to other ministries. Beria, Secret Police chief from 1941 to 1953, responsible for the slaughter of untold millions, was himself liquidated. His deputy, Serov—the man directly responsible for the ruthless suppression of the Hungarian Revolution in 1956—took over until 1958 when he was replaced by Shelepin. Semichastny was named to the post in November of last year.



Sergeant Pevlay, current Komsomol First Secretary and head of the Soviet delegation to the VII Festival.

"Comrade! . . . The . . . force of Communist ideas is . . . shown by the growing international contacts of Soviet youth. We now have ties with 1,000 youth organizations . . . We can only rejoice at the way our ties with the youth of Asian, African, and Latin American countries have been developing and gaining strength."

—from a speech at the 22nd Party Congress (Tver, Moscow, October 25, 1961)



APPENDIX II



Vol. 1, No. 1 October-November, 1962 15 cents

The NSA Congress

By DANIEL RUBIN

The National Student Association Congress recently held in Columbus, Ohio, was a marked improvement over those held in recent years, despite a number of weaknesses.

The Congress was notable for an expansion of areas of concern, a continued dynamic, liberal trend on domestic issues and the first cracks in Cold War policies; and for the first time in NSA history a Communist spokesman was present, causing quite a stir.

A number of problems confronting the NSA and the student movement were brought out at the Congress. Those on the left, while playing a very positive role, often backed away from presenting fundamentally new ideas. As a result, hard line Cold War positions continued unabated on a number of issues, while the nature and future role of NSA remained unsettled and little discussed in public.

The most profound progressive influences on the Congress were the struggles of Negro youth in the South and the struggles of students throughout the world.

All during the Congress, the liberals, headed by Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and Campus Americans for Democratic Action (ADA), led the Congress. There was no committed liberal majority, but on most social issues the liberals were able to convince enough of the middle group (sometimes called moderates) to achieve a substantial majority. They were also able to elect a liberal leadership.

In the past, Southern schools were the strongholds of Conservatism in NSA. Today the South is represented by Negro schools and a goodly number of Southern white liberals.

Drawing lessons from last year's failure to take over, the Conservatives, mainly the Young Americans for Freedom (YAF) and the YAF-led Young Republican Student Federation, did not attempt to scare the Congress into surrender with a big fanfare and extremist arguments. Instead, they camouflaged their position and concentrated on changes in procedure and structure that would hamper the Association from putting its resolutions into life. Under the slogan of "school autonomy" and internal democracy, they were able to loosen further the loose federation of student governments which make up the NSA.

In opposing a resolution against the McCarran Act, they argued that NSA needed another year to study the law because of its complexity. They argued against a number of resolutions, claiming the subject matter went beyond the scope of NSA concern, limited in the NSA Constitution by the clause, "students in their role as students."

A disheartening fact was that their voting strength sometimes came from liberal schools. Whenever a

From the Editor

During the past year, thousands of students from Maine to California have shown interest in hearing the Communist viewpoint. At the University of Oregon, the football stadium had to be used to accommodate all the students who wanted to hear Gus Hall. In New York City, the students on the campuses of the City University successfully fought a ban against Communist speakers.

Youth have been fed a steady diet of distorted anti-communist interpretations of communism. Now, you can read regularly the opinions and analysis by Communists of the major social issues. Whether you are a student or a worker, whether you are seeking a degree or hunting for a job, this publication is for you. There will be no frills, no sugar-coated language. People such as Gus Hall, Ben Davis and Dr. Herbert Aptheker will be contributing to these pages. Many of you have heard their views in person; all of you can now read their views in print.

There will be eight issues of Communist Viewpoint a year, each one dealing with several topics of special concern to youth. Subscription is \$1.00. You shouldn't miss an issue of our publication. We know you'll find it an important contribution to the thinking and striving of youth.

World Youth Festival: Fact and Fancy

By LISA SAWYER

Being among 13,000 youth from 137 countries as they walked, marched and danced into a stadium filled to capacity with 50,000 cheering people, gave me the feeling that I was part of an historic moment. This was the opening day ceremony of the VIII World Youth Festival, held in Helsinki, Finland.

Not since the Cold War began has there been such a representative gathering of youth from every corner of the globe. There were 435 youth in the U.S. contingent — the largest and most diverse U.S. delegation since 1947. For the first time since the initial Festival in 1947, large and representative groups from the U.S. and other NATO bloc countries met with youth from the Socialist countries, and other Asian, African and Latin American countries.

A number of youth and student leaders from the U.S. attended the Festival unofficially. These included writers for most of the new and searching student publications — both liberal and radical — and leaders of church groups, Ys and several of the major student political parties. Leading participants in the major youth peace organizations were present, as well as some who were active in sit-ins in the South. Several top people in the National Student Association (NSA) were there, though not as representatives of NSA. Left youth organizations like the Progressive Youth Organizing Committee (PYOC), Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), etc. had people there unofficially. There was a small but significant group of young trade unionists present. The Archie Shepp Jazz Band performed as did a folk chorus and a number of soloists.

Among those participating in the U.S. Festival Committee in one capacity or another were student body presidents of the University of Chicago, Roosevelt

Continued on Page 2

Continued on Page 3

NSA Congress

liberal delegate could not attend the Congress for personal reasons, the lone campus conservative was ready to take his or her place. Because a section of liberals and left students have for years underrated NSA's importance, and did not make an effort to become voting delegates, the conservative vote was stronger than it need have been.

The main issues at the Congress were clearly the McCarran Act and nuclear testing. Both fights illustrated the expansion of NSA concern into areas showing the interdependence of the university and society. After a lengthy floor fight, led by the major liberal and moderate leaders of NSA, a resolution against the McCarran Act was passed by a 2 to 1 margin. It describes the fantastic provisions of the Act and then states NSA's "grave reservations" about their effect on "freedom of speech and association" and calls for Congress to reconsider the Act. It also calls on member schools to study the Act's effect on campus.

A four hour floor fight was required to pass the resolution on nuclear testing. It condemns all militarily or politically oriented testing no matter by whom or where conducted. The resolution refers to the harm of radioactive contamination and acceleration of the arms race. The fight was over whether the U.S. tests should be "condemned" or only "regretted." "Condemnation" won out and all attempts to weaken the criticism of U.S. Government policy were defeated. It was the first NSA criticism of U.S. foreign policy on a major issue and helped put NSA in step with the peace movement.

WHERE IS NSA GOING

One of the long term problems of the NSA has been determining its own nature and role and how far left it can or should move. This problem has on many occasions divided the liberals in NSA. Some NSA liberals believe the association is only slightly representative of U.S. students, though it speaks in their name. They point to the fact that NSA represents only a little more than a quarter of all U.S. students, and that even among those who attend member schools the majority have never heard of NSA. It is also their feeling that only the more politically oriented - mainly the campus liberals - are active around NSA and attend its Congresses. They feel, therefore, that resolutions passed at NSA Congresses are considerably to the left of the entire American student body. It is on similar grounds that the far right attacks NSA as unrepresentative.

Another group of liberal students feels NSA is primarily a grouping devoted to liberal policies and activities, and that its structure should be solidified, thereby removing obstacles which keep it from playing a more dynamic and liberal role. They feel that the student governments on many campuses are not as politically aware or liberal as other campus groups. They hold, therefore, that a broader basis of representation in NSA is needed: membership with voting rights by the active campus groups, such as student political parties, peace and civil rights groups, etc. - and provision made for individual student membership.

The total picture of student life must be viewed in order to arrive at the correct solution to NSA's problems. There are organizations which deal with only one issue. Student political parties and other multi-issue politically oriented groups unite students who are ready to act on a wide range of issues. There are also some left wing campus groups which help raise the level of understanding of the causes of problems, the interconnection of issues and long term as well as short term solutions.

NSA, on the other hand, represents student government elected by entire student bodies. As a consequence, it reflects, though imperfectly, the level of development of all students. It represents them and at the same time in a position to move the whole student community forward.

**COMMUNIST
VIEWPOINT**

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A close-working relationship between NSA and the student political party movement, Southern and Northern Negro rights movements, peace movement, etc., would bring gains for all the youth and students of our country. Such a relationship would give the most active students a bigger stake in supporting NSA and will bring new dimensions to NSA thinking. But basing NSA on individual student membership, as some advocate, would convert NSA from an organization influencing the entire student community through student governments into a duplicate of existing liberal multi-issue national organizations.

At the recent Congress, there were 1200 delegates, representing 400 student governments and one million students. Also present were the leaders of every active movement and organization among students and youth, representatives of student organizations in Angola, France, Guatemala, Poland, South Africa, Canada, Brazil, Paraguay, etc. Such an assembly could not be regarded as unimportant.

A resolution on the problems of working students was a pro-labor departure for NSA. It called for unionization of students who work and protection of their wages and conditions. On civil rights, a resolution was passed criticizing President Kennedy and Congress for inaction and wrong action on housing, voter registration, Federal judges and marshals, and school desegregation.

The Congress exhibited two major weaknesses: first, despite resolutions condemning certain aspects of the Cold War, there was still adherence to Cold War policies generally; second, the left did not challenge such policies.

COLD WAR RESOLUTIONS

The resolutions on the World Youth Festival, referred to the National Executive Committee, continued the policy of branding the Festival a partisan propaganda event that does not promote peace and friendship. It was not as harsh though, in that the U.S. Festival Committee was commended for its fairness in Helsinki and any form of repression against those who attend Festivals was decried.

But resolutions on Cuba, Berlin, Hungary and the Puerto Rican union of students (FUPI), maintained a hard Cold War line. They were not challenged in any way. This is due in part to the second major weakness. Left-oriented students refrained from suggesting any position they did not think would be approved for fear of isolation. Pressure came from only one direction - the right. The result? Resolutions that reached the floor were altered in a right-wing direction: an anti-HUAC petition campaign was defeated, and the ground work for swifter movement to the left in the future based on argumentation advanced now was not laid. Not a single person challenged the condemnation of the Festival. No one pointed out the centrality of the registration provisions and orders of the McCarran Act.

I went to the Congress as Editor of *Communist Viewpoint*. My presence was one of the more talked about topics. I spoke with several hundred student leaders and rank and file delegates. All treated me with courtesy and great interest. Most expressed their concern over

Continued on Page 4

World Youth Festival

University, Tyler School of Art of Temple University and several student government members like Ken Cloke from the University of California at Berkeley. Mike Myerson, former SLATE President, headed the Committee.

A wide range of adult educators, religious leaders and civic figures endorsed the idea of participating. These included Rev. C. K. Steele, Sr. and Rev. James Lawson, Jr., both leaders in the Southern non-violent movement.

Unfortunately, though support was greater than in past years, no major youth groups from the U.S. participated officially. The NSA took a Cold War position in refusing to participate, claiming that the Festival was a "partisan political event." At its recent congress, in Columbus, Ohio, held a short while after the Festival was over, the NSA introduced a resolution on the Festival which complained that the "neutrality and sovereignty of SYL (student union) and of SNE (Council of Youth Organizations)" were violated "by holding the Festival in Helsinki over their objection." SYL made no such protest. As a matter of fact, it issued many statements during the Festival proclaiming its strict neutrality and criticizing anti-Festival activities. It even participated in Soviet-Finnish Friendship Day activities which was one of the special days of the Festival.

NSA's resolution asserts that the Festival did not attract any significant numbers of youth with a neutral point of view. But the large and highly representative delegations from Asia, Africa and Latin America were a highlight of the Festival. Their national concerts, the delegation meetings with them and the day of solidarity with these youth were exceptionally valuable experiences.

The list of organizations from these three continents who sent delegates or observers is a who's who of the present and future leaders of their countries. From Nigeria came representatives of the National Youth Council and Student Union. The West African Student Union (WASU) attended. Senegal's delegation was headed by the Minister of Youth and Sports. 50 Egyptians were

sent by the Government Supreme Council for Youth Welfare. Festival Committees in Ghana, Mali and Guinea each had government ministers on their committees. One of the three Ghanaians who attended is a leader of the Youth Council and served on the Festival Organizing Committee (IPC) from the beginning.

Seventeen national unions of students from Asia participated. The National Youth federations of Indonesia and Laos, the youth section of the Congress Party of India, the youth organizations of the ruling parties of Ceylon and Cambodia attended.

Among those from Latin America participating were 17 national unions of students, Conservative Youth of Colombia, Christian University Association of Brazil, Brazilian Student Union (IPC member), Oriental Revolutionary Movement of Uruguay and Youth Council of Guatemala.

In addition to the wide representation from those areas of the world, vigorous support was given by Western European groups. The French and British unions of students sent observers. Also, there were the youth sections of the Radical, Republican and Socialist Parties of Italy, United Socialist Youth of France, Dutch Union of Catholic Students and Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament organizations from Britain and the Scandinavian countries.

Also participating was UNESCO (in one event), the World Council of Churches and the International Student Movement for the UN.

The NSA leaders who attended the Festival acknowledged at the Congress that as time went on more and more Finns supported the Festival and general opposition could not be demonstrated. The Prime Minister was in the stands on opening day. Public schools and the stadium were used regularly. President Kekkonen and other Government figures attended the Hungarian National Concert and publicly apologized for the small youth gangs who demonstrated against the Festival. SYL stated that no students were involved and the N.Y. Times conceded that only a few hundred youngsters participated in the riots. Prior to the

Continued on Page 4

A True Patriot

Some of the statements made by James H. Meredith during his ordeal at the University of Mississippi:

- "I am absolutely intent on seeing that every citizen is given a right to be something if he works hard enough. Negroes in Mississippi are being denied many of the rights basic to American Democracy."
- "The price of progress is indeed high, but the price of holding it back is much higher."
- "At this point it is more for America than it is for me."
- "I feel confident that a new pattern will be discovered and I believe that Mississippi may well take the initiative and blot out its blackened past and proceed on to an enlightened phase of race relations and human decency."

These are the words of a patriot — a man who, despite the denial of his rights by some men in a white skin, is able to see that this denial is not only detrimental to him and his people, but to the nation as a whole. It is his nation, and he is concerned about it.

We urge that you let President Kennedy know that you too are concerned about the harm discrimination does our country at home and abroad. He has the power to end discrimination in federally supported housing and federally contracted jobs, and to order compliance with the Supreme Court decision on school segregation. Such action would indeed be "more for America" than for Meredith.

In our next issue: Mississippi and the U. S. A.

World Youth Festival

Festival, 380,000 people — of a population of only four and a half million — signed petitions greeting the Festival. Personally, I found the residents of Helsinki courteous and friendly.

In attempting to play down the importance of the Festival, the U.S. press blew up the few instances of criticism of the Festival and in particular the departure of 3/5 of the Ceylonese delegation. Actually, the extremely small number of such incidents contrasts well with other large international events. For example, this summer at the 10th International Student Conference, about 30 student unions walked out over the failure to grant the Puerto Rican union of students (FUPI) voting rights.

The charge of "partisan political event" is the main NSA criticism. All Festival organizers were admittedly partisan to peace, friendship and an end to colonialism. My experience was that the IPC did not ask for action or agreement on positions that were unique to Communists.

When a group sought to picket the U.S. Embassy at the start of the Festival for conducting high altitude testing, the IPC prevented it. At the closing peace demonstration, only picket signs that all could agree upon were allowed.

The only people who came with a particular ideological axe to grind, and who engaged in partisan propagandizing, were those from the Independent Research Service (IRS) and similar groups. Most of the IRS youth came to the Festival convinced it was just a Communist propaganda show. Their reason for going was to tell the "truth" to non-committed youth about the U.S. and its policies. A distorted booklet on conditions in the U.S. was one of their main weapons. Most delegations had IRS people assigned to them. A number of liberals were drawn into this activity and were indignant when most Festivalites called them "agents of imperialism who weren't there for honest purposes." All other participants came to see if they could find areas of agreement and ways to promote peace and friendship.

It is significant that those from the U.S. who opposed the Festival did not attempt the physical provocations and disruptions some U.S. youth at the Vienna Festival had used. Such activities were not possible this time because of the breadth of the U.S. Festival contingent and the bad international reputation such activities received as a result of Vienna.

In a number of respects the Festival is of great value in reducing tensions among youth. It demonstrates that despite ideological differences, most youth in the world can communicate on questions of peace, friendship and colonialism. Youth who have shared experiences for 10 days and understand each other's view of world events are less willing to fight one another. This Festival added a new dimension to U.S. youth peace activity — significant contact with youth from other countries, including East-West contact.

It is getting harder and harder for groups like NSA to find reasons for not attending this increasingly important youth event. The last two Festivals were held in neutral countries. No restrictions were placed on attendance. The U.S. Festival Committee accepted people on a first come, first serve basis and distributed tickets to Festival events by public drawings. (The NSA resolution acknowledges the fairness of the U.S. Festival Committee in handling things in Helsinki.) There was a free tribune at the Festival in which anyone could speak on anything. A colloquium on peace and international understanding was open to representatives of any organization. Both were added because of prior criticism that Festivals were too cultural and did not afford an opportunity to exchange views on international affairs.

No one denies that there is room for improvement in the running of the Festivals. Those U.S. youth organizations that seek ways to reduce East-West tensions should enter negotiations with the Festival organizers now and make suggestions and criticisms. If they think other events would do more for peace and international contact, they should propose additional forms of East-West contact rather than oppose and stay away from Festivals. A Festival, combining cultural and sports events with international discussions and individual contact, is a valuable form for large-scale mass gatherings. Events, proposals and arguments should be judged by their contributions to ending the Cold War among youth. By that standard, the VIII World Youth Festival was a high water mark in international contact.

NSA Congress

suppression of Communists, while indicating acceptance of much misinformation about Communists. Some even said they were glad a Communist was present because it produced healthy controversy. Thousands of pieces of literature were quickly taken by those in attendance.

Soon after I arrived, the extreme right-wing newspaper in Columbus tried to make my presence the big issue of the Congress and grounds for putting pressure on the NSA. Their attacks then extended to Philip Abbott Luce, of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, and Burton White, a well-known civil libertarian, both of whom had been banned from speaking on the Ohio State campus earlier in the year.

The Congress refused to be provoked or diverted and the NSA did not knuckle-under, though a statement they made did have some elements of compromise. Students would pass me by and, with a smile, congratulate me for making the front page again. Despite the pressure, the New Jersey Regional Caucus invited me to speak to them and to the press. My talk dealt with the need to judge the deeds and ideas of Communists objectively and to consider them well or the whole country would suffer. The talk was generally well-received, though a group of far-right-wing delegates asked some vicious questions.

At many points in the Congress deliberations, especially speaker ban and academic freedom discussions, students talked about hearing Communist leaders Gus Hall, Benjamin J. Davis and others speak, and that their campuses had been enriched, not harmed, by the experience.

The Congress indicated that U.S. students as a whole are moving leftward and are beginning to cut through some of the worst Cold War propaganda. As NSA moves in this direction, the most active and liberal students understand their stake in NSA's continued growth. Clearly it will not be the far right that will be concerned with the effectiveness and growth of NSA, so long as its present policy direction continues.

In the past few years, NSA has grown. There is every reason to believe it will continue to gain membership, not despite its liberal policies, but just because of them. The next thing on the agenda is a substantial break with Cold War policies.

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INDEX

NOTE.—The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee attaches no significance to the mere fact of the appearance of the name of an individual or an organization in this index.

A		Page
Abadjiev, Ivan	-----	19
Abrams, Prof. Irwin	-----	17
Abdelaziz, Ben Nejma	-----	20
Abdelhafidh, Ben Aoufi	-----	19
Abd El Mahmoud, F. A.	-----	57
Abrigada, Samuel	-----	55
Achmadi, Mr.	-----	39
Ackerly, Rev. P. George A.	-----	40, 45
Ad Hoc Student Committee for Travel to Cuba	-----	61
Advance	31, 43, 48, 60-62	61
Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee	-----	57
Afro-Scandinavian Youth Congress	-----	53
Aguilar, William	-----	20
Alamada, Maria D.	-----	57
Alarcon, Sr. Ricardo	-----	16
Alexander, Rev. Gross W.	-----	45
Algerian Front of National Liberation (FLN)	-----	48
All China Students Federation	-----	6
All-China Youth Federation (organization)	-----	19
All-India Youth Federation (AIYF) (organization)	-----	19
All-Island Congress of Sama Semaj Youth League (organization)	-----	19
All Union Central Council of Trade Unions	-----	57
Alleg, Henri	-----	39
Almada, Dulce	-----	55
Almeida, Luis	-----	55
Almeida, Silvio	-----	55
Alvarez, Aldo	-----	17
Amado, Filipe	-----	55
American Friends Service Committee (organization)	17, 20	17
American-Soviet Friendship, National Council of	-----	17
Ana, Marcus (real name: Sebastian Fernando Macarro Castillo)	-----	5
Anderson, Geoffrey Ronald	-----	19
Andersson, Otto Ingemar	-----	26
Angolan Youth Union	-----	55
Animal Farm (book)	-----	12
Anniburn, N.	-----	6
Aptheke, Bettina	-----	9
Aptheke, Herbert	-----	9
Antioch College, Ohio	34, 35, 49	6
Arevedo, Bernardo	-----	40
Armstrong, Thomas	-----	58
Asociacion de Estudiantes Universitarios (AEU) Guatemala	-----	55, 57
Assiedu, Yaw	-----	55
Assis, Serafina	-----	58
Association Générale des Etudiants de la Martinique (AGEM), Martinica	-----	41
Association of Nazi Victims	-----	19
Association of Young Rebels (organization)	-----	19
Asthana, R. K.	-----	57
Augemon, A. R.	-----	13
Austrian Peace Council	-----	6
Avega	-----	20
Awab Abdelkader	-----	

B		Page
Babacar, N'Diongue	.....	9
Baeta, Herman	.....	55
Baird, Rev. William T	.....	45
Ball, Lee H	.....	45
Banda, R. B	.....	57
Bariona, Mario	.....	20
Barock, Bedriah	.....	26
Barria, Sergio	.....	17
Bayardo, Luis	.....	9
Ben Barka, El Mehdi	.....	53
Bender, Ignaz	.....	55
Bengston, Nelson	.....	45
Bensah, E. K	.....	39
Berkowitz, Norman	.....	43, 46-48
Bernal, J. D	.....	39
Bernini, Bruno	.....	3
Bernstein, Prof. Saul	.....	45
Berrada, Abdelhamid	.....	55
Bicevar, Ivan	.....	19
Bielenberg, Tore Jarl	.....	57
Blum, Isabelle	.....	39
Boedairy, Mohamed Said	.....	20
Boehm, Helmut	.....	8
Bojer, Hilde	.....	57
Bolshoi Ballet	.....	42
Bootsma, Gosse A	.....	20
Booth, Nora R	.....	20
Botvinki, Mikhail	.....	40
Boyden, Mrs. Elizabeth B	.....	45
Brandweiner, Heinrich	.....	13
Bras, Juan Mari	.....	31
Brinkman, Harmen Jan	.....	20
Briottet, Roger	.....	41
British Committee for Democratic Rights in the U.S.A	.....	48
Brizola, Leonel	.....	39
Brooklyn College	.....	49
Brownstone, Peter	.....	47
Bultje Catrien	.....	20
Burke, Robert	.....	48
Buxenbaum, Alva	.....	17, 59, 61
Buxenbaum, David	.....	17, 59

C		Page
Cabello, Maria Theresa	.....	26
California, University of	.....	49
Calkins, Rev. Raymond	.....	45
Camara Boubacar	.....	19
Carcedo, Sr. Antonio	.....	16
Cardenas, Lazaro	.....	39
Carpenter (American astronaut)	.....	40
Carvalho Santos, H. de	.....	57
Casalis, George	.....	40
Castro, Fidel	.....	8, 16, 32, 33, 39
Castro, Raul	.....	32
Cavalcante, Jose Bezerra	.....	26
Central Intelligence Agency, U.S	.....	26
Central Univa de Trabajadores de Chile (CUTCH)	.....	17
Central University Federation (organization)	.....	20
Centro Universitario de la Universidad Nacional (CUUN) Nicaragua	.....	58
Cepulis, Wladyslaw	.....	20
Ceylon Moor Youth League (organization)	.....	19
Ceylon University Student Council (organization)	.....	19
Chalabesa, Emanuel	.....	57
Chalmers, Norma	.....	19
Chbouki, Omar	.....	55
Chicago, University of	.....	43, 49
Children's International Summer Villages (CISV) (organization)	.....	19

	Page
Chissano, Joaquim Alberto	55, 57
Christian, Claude	7
Christian Democratic Youth of Cuba	17
Chu, Liang	19
Chunjav	20
Chu, Shan-Ching	19
City College in New York	46, 48, 49
CLARTE (organization)	20
Cloke, Kenneth	47
Cohen, Conrad	17
Columbia Spectator (publication)	62
Columbia University	49, 61
Comey, Miss Lillian E	45
Cominform	3
Committee:	
Association of Polish Students (ZSP) (organization)	20
Association of Students for the UN (organization)	20
Committee of Cooperation of Polish Youth Organizations—Union of Socialist Youth Committee (ZMS) (organization)	20
Committee of Youth Organizations (CYO) of the U.S.S.R. (organization)	20
Committee To Secure Justice for Morton Sobell	31
Communist and Progressive Youth Leagues, Congress of (organization)	19
Communist Austrian Peace Council	13
Communist International	1
Seventh World Congress of the	2, 23
The Communist International Youth and Student Apparatus (by Herbert Romerstein)	1-70
Communist Party of Chile (National Trade Union Conference of the)	17
Communist Party—	
of Finland	46
of Japan	7
of South Africa	55
United States of America	2, 9, 17, 31
Communist Viewpoint (publication)	49, 60
Communist Youth (organization)	19
Communist Youth League of Denmark (DKJ) (organization)	19
Communist Youth Movement (organization)	19
Communist Youth Organization of Hungary (KISZ) (organization)	19
Communist World Peace Council	13
Condit, Prof. Carl W	45
Confederacion Universitaria Boliviana (CUB) Bolivia	58
"Coordinating Secretariat of National Unions of Students" (COSEC)	9
Cordeiro, Albano	55
Corey, Prof. Paul	45
Correia, Alexandre	55
Correia, Carlos	54, 55
Csaba, Ferenc	19
Cot, Pierre	39
Council of Youth Organizations (Finnish youth organization)	50
Cuban Federation of University Students (FEU)	61
Cuban Revolutionary Student Directorate (DRE)	26
Cuban Student Directory	17
Cubana Airlines	62
Czeslaw, Wisniewski	20
Czechoslovak Youth Union (CSM) (organization)	19, 26

D

d'Almeida, Luis Jose	55
da Goya, Marcelino	55
Dahlstrom, Bo	20
Daily Worker, London	11
Danilov, Georgi	8
Dansokoho, A	57
da Silva, Mateu	55
Davidson, Oliver	33, 34, 48
Davis, Bertha E	45
Davis, Rev. Jerome	45

	Page
de Andrade, Mario	54, 55
de Carvalho, Rui	55
de Figueiredo, Laio	55
de Graca, Desiderio	6
Democratic Youth (organization)	20
Democratic Youth League of Japan (organization)	20
Demirtchoglan G.	20
Democratic Youth Union (of Finland)	24, 25
Dennis, Dr. Eldon	45
(Deputy) Youth of the EDA Party (organization)	19
de Sauton, Carlos Alberto Olivero	6
Devine, Donald	48
Dewit, Alexis	19
Diallo, S.	57
Dimitrov Youth Union (organization)	19
Dinh Diem, Ngo	52
Diop, Abdou-Cogne	20
Diop, M'Baye-Jacques	20
Djime, Pierre	55
Dobkin, Alix	44, 47
Dominguez, A.	6
Dominquez, Sr. Francisco	16
Dorfman, Ronald	47
Dorticos, Osvaldo	39
Dr. Zhivago (book)	12
Do-Van-Hien	20
Dramaliev, Lubomir Kirilov	26, 28
Dylan, Bob	44

E

East German-Free German Youth	6
Eccles, Ann	48
Echard, Christian	3, 20, 28
Ed Batal, Georges	20
Ekkija, Armas	26
El-Chadarchi, Kamil	39
El Faol, F. Mohammed	55, 56, 57
El Mahwadi, Fadil Abbas	39
Emergency Civil Liberties Committee	62
Enerstvedt, Regi	57
Engstrom, George	20
Eubanks, Mary C.	45

F

Fahlerantz, Harry	20
Farrell, Prof. H. Alfred	45
Faulkner, Stanely	45
Federacion de Centros Universitarios (FCU) Venezuela	58
Federacion de Estudiantes de Panama (FEP) Panama	48
Federacion de Estudiantes del Peru (FEP) Peru	58
Federacion de Estudiantes Universitarios Dominicanos en Exilio (FEDE) Republica Dominicana	58
Federacion Estudiantil Universitaria (FEU) Cuba	58
Federacion de Universitarios Pro Independencia (FUPI) Puerto Rico	58
Federal Bureau of Investigation	26
Federation of Indian Youth (FIY) (organization)	19
Federation of University Students (FEU) (organization)	19
Federation of University Students for Independence (FUPI)	31, 32
Federation of Vietnamese Youth (organization)	20
Fernandes, Gil	55
Fernandez Padilla, Oscar	19
Ferreira, Jose	55
Figueras Larrazabal, Jerardo	19
Figueroa, Luis	17
Filho, Diniz Cabral	55
Filipe, Pedro	55
Finnish National Union of Students	24

	Page
Finnish-Soviet Union (organization).....	19
Finnish Union of Democratic Youth (DJF) (organization).....	19
Finnish Youth Organizations, Council of.....	24, 25
Fortunato, Jacinto.....	55
Francois, Pierre.....	41
Frank, Waldo.....	46
Free Austrian Youth (FOeJ) (organization).....	19
Free German Youth (FDJ) (organization).....	19, 28
French Council of Youth Movements (organization).....	19
French National Union of Students (UNEF) (organization).....	19
Fret, Jose.....	55
Friedman, Leonard.....	47
Friendship University (now Lumumba University in Moscow).....	57
Fritchman, Rev. Stephen H.....	45

G

Gadfil, Mr.....	39
Gagarin.....	40
Garcias, Jean.....	28, 31, 37, 38
Gaspar, Luisa.....	55
Gaspar, Maria L.....	57
Gatignon, Claude.....	3
Gaudez, Pierre.....	19
General Netherlands Youth Movement (organization).....	20
General Union of Moslem Algerian Students (UGEMA) (organization).....	19
General Union of Palestine Students.....	6
General Union of Students from Black Africa (UGEAN).....	54
General Union of Students in the Iraqi Republic (GUSIR) (organization).....	20
General Union of Tunisian Students (UGET) (organization).....	20
Gentro Universitario Universidad Nacional (organization).....	20
George Washington University.....	61
Ghana Youth Council (organization).....	19
Giralt, Sr. Agustin.....	16
Gjika, Viktor.....	35
Glenn (American astronaut).....	40
Gluck, Sidney J.....	45
The God That Failed (book).....	12
Goncalves, Carlos.....	55
Goodlet, Dr. Carlton B.....	45
Goransson, Jan Erik.....	20
Gornicki, Ian.....	28
Gouillou, Andre.....	9
G. P. Ansor (organization).....	20
Graca, Desiderio.....	54
Griffith, Dr. Helen.....	45
Grossman, Dr. David.....	45
Gunasekera, Chandra.....	19
Guttuso, Renato.....	40

H

Hadey, Jean Jacques.....	19
Hall, Gus.....	2
Hamadache, Ali.....	55
Harish, Chandra.....	19
Haroon, Yusuf Ali.....	20
Harvard.....	49
Hashi, Ahmed Abdi.....	57
Havana Radio.....	48
Heifetz, Robert J.....	45
"Hell or Helsinki" (advertisement).....	43
Helsinki Festival.....	22, 28
Helsinki Youth Festival.....	31-33, 35-37, 42, 44, 48-51, 54, 56, 59-61
Helsinki Youth News.....	26
Hemachandra, Perera.....	19
Henning, Emanuel Poul.....	19
Hester, Brig. Gen. Hugh B.....	45
Hill, Duane.....	48

	Page
Hiroshima.....	37
Hirschmann, Henry.....	48
Hirschman, Rochelle.....	60, 61
Ho Chi Minh.....	5
Hoover, J. Edgar.....	62
Horling, Per-Anders.....	20
Horta, Jose Carlos.....	55
Howard, Daniel.....	45
Howard, Rev. Ernest L.....	45
Hussein, Nuri Abd al-Razak.....	6
Hussein, Mazen.....	8
Hussen, Abdellatif, M.....	56, 57
Hussein Montasser.....	20
Huynh Trong Hoang.....	20
Hwa, Chong.....	19

I

Iasoui, Kahorou.....	40
Icaza, Jorge.....	40
Igbo, Ademola.....	56, 57
Iglesias, Commandante Joel.....	16, 34
Il-Sung, Marshal Kim.....	34
Indrosoegondho, Mr.....	40
Ingels, Bonita.....	48
Ingels, Donald.....	48
International Association of Democratic Lawyers.....	13
International Festival Committee.....	37
International Preparatory Committee.....	13, 24, 28, 29
"International Student Conference".....	9
International Student Movement for the U.N. (ISMUN) (organization).....	20
International Student Movement to the U.N.....	50
International Union of Students (IUS) (organization).....	6,
7, 9, 11, 13, 20, 26, 28, 29, 30, 34, 41, 51, 58	
Ioannis, Avraam.....	19
Iraqi Federation of Democratic Youth (organization).....	20
Israeli Young Communist Union.....	35
Italian Socialist Youth (organization).....	20
IUS (International Union of Students) News Service Bulletin.....	5
Iverson, Felix.....	24

J

Jackson, Donald.....	40
Jacoby, Irene.....	19
Jagan, Cheddi.....	28, 39
Jagan, Janet.....	28
Jala, Thomas Michael also known as Tom Morris.....	9, 28, 29, 46
Jarvinen, Juhani.....	40
Jobal, Valerio H.....	19
Joffe, Eder.....	40
Johnson, Arnold.....	62
Johnson, Hewlett.....	5
Johnson, Joe.....	47
Jones, William.....	41
Jouahri, Hamid.....	55
Journalist (organization).....	19
Juliao, Francisco.....	39
Juventud Socialista (JS) Communist Youth (organization).....	19

K

KFUM (YMCA) (organization).....	20
Kahn, Albert.....	9
Kakoyanis Athanasios.....	19
Kaldy, Zoltan.....	40
Kamal Assad.....	20
Kaunda, Kenneth.....	54
Kekkonen, Matti.....	25
Kem-Nhim.....	19

	Page
Kenyatta, Jomo	39
Khachaturian, Mr.	40
Khrushchev, Nikita	6, 7, 30, 32, 57
Khusrow Tawfik	20
Klinton, Mario	55
Koch, Leo F.	45
Kogan, Leonid	40
Kohler, Ulrich	20
Kolonics Lajos	19
Kombo, Msanifu	57
Komocsin Zoltan	19
Komsomolskaya Pravda (newspaper)	26
Kongle, Mr.	39
Koneicki, Dieter	4, 19
"Korea and Its Students" (IUS pamphlet)	29
Kooli	20
Korean Democratic Youth League	35
Kornievsky, Father Jean	36
Ko San Zun, President	6, 20
Kourouma Laje	19
Krenz, Egon	6
Kruczkowski, Adam	20
Kulik, Karen	59
Kunene, Raymond	56, 57
Kunsoja, Maiju	40
Kuntoh, Ja	48
Kuo Mo-jo	5
Kuts, Vladimir	40
Kuusinen, Herta	23, 24
Kuusinen, Otto	2, 23

L

Lahlimi, Ahmed	55
Lars Karlsson	20
Larsson, Laila	57
Latin American Workers' Conference	39
Laub, Levi	62
Laurent, Paul	19
Lawson, Rev. Jim, Jr.	45
Lawton, Joan	48
Lebanese Youth League (organization)	20
Le Binh	20
Leif, Beth	59
Lekan Shkurti	19
Levaux, Marcel	19
Leverton, Denise	46
Leyens, German	8
Levey, David	47
Liberal Student Union (organization)	19
Li Chi-tao	6
Liljefeldt, Bror	20
Lins, Marcos Correia	19
Lippek, Hans	48
Lipson, Aaron	61
Lipson, Lionel	31, 59, 60
Li, Shu Tsien	19
Loftman, Sven	39
Lopes, Silvestra	55
Lopo, Rui Castro	55
Lorch, Prof. Lee	45
Los Angeles City College	49
Luce, Philip Abbott	62
Ludwing	17
Lumumba, Patrice	51
Lumumba University of Moscow	31, 51, 53, 57, 58
Lund, Walter	57
Ly, Ibrahima	57

	Mc	Page
McDonald, Jim		47
McTiernan, Francis J.		46

M

Macarro Castillo, Sebastian Fernando. (See Ana, Marcus.)		
Macedo, Antonio		55
Mackler, Jeff	34, 35,	47
Madrowska, Irena		20
Mahlamaki, Pentti		24
Makombi, Eduardo		55
Maksimova, E.		20
Mandel, Seymour		46
MAPAM (organization)		20
Marechal, Mr.		40
Margono, G.	20,	28
Marin, Munoz		31
Marinello, J.		40
Markland, Fred		20
Markman, Marvin	13,	60, 61
Martinot, Steve	61,	62
Matipa, Henry Kosam		57
Mau-Mau		39
Mayer, Otto		39
M'Boya, Tom		39
Medeiros, Antonio Tomas		55
Meltti, Vaino		39
Menteiro, Armand		57
Meschkat, Klaus		55
Mesyatsev, N.		11
Miguel, Jose		55
Mitra Sarada		19
Mobio, Blaise		57
Mocumbi, Pascoal		55
Moffatt, Judge Hon. Stanley		45
Mohamed Ali Bob, B.		57
Moiseyev dancers		42
Moiseyev, Igor		40
Mongali, Mr.		39
Mongolian Revolutionary Youth Union (organization)		20
Moritz, Paul		20
Moroccan Working Youth (organization)		20
Morris, Tom, also known as Thomas Michael Jala	4, 19,	46
Moscow Festival		32
Moscow News		50
Moscow "Peace" conference		41
Moscow World Youth Forum		61
Moss, John		11
"Movement for the Independence of Puerto Rico" (MPI)	6, 31,	32
Mubakj, Sim Veke		57
Mukahlera, Agrippa W.		57
M. Munasir		20
Murna, Lataro		40
Mutambanengwe, Lovemore		55
Myerson, Michael	43,	46, 47

N

National Guardian		43
National Union of Brazilian Students		6
National Union of French Students		6
National Union of Russian Solidarists (NTS)		36
National Union of Students (organization)	19, 24,	50
National Union of Students of Brazil (UNEB) (organization)		19
National Union of Students (of Ghana)		6
Neculae, Roman		20
Nejjar, Said		55
Nemoto, Hitoshi		7

	Page
Neo-Destour Youth (organization).....	20
Neto, Mateus.....	55
Neto, Ruth.....	55
Neues Deutschland (East German newspaper).....	37
Neves, Daniel.....	55
The New Class (book).....	12
New Horizons for Youth.....	31, 60, 61
New York University.....	61
Nguyen Xuan Thuy, Dr.....	6
Niederlandische Christliche Studentenunion (organization).....	20
Niemoeller, Dr. Martin.....	40, 41
Nilsson, Bertil.....	20
1984 (book).....	12
Nishizawa, Shun.....	9, 20
North Atlantic Treaty Organization.....	54
NSW Peace Committee (organization).....	19
Nyambi, Joao Jamissa.....	55

O

Oanh, Xuan.....	51, 52
Oistrach, Igor.....	40
Okee, Jekeri.....	57
Ologoudou, Emile.....	55
Organization of American States.....	31
Oscar, Zamora M.....	19
Oyaka, Laban.....	57

P

Paiva, Fernando.....	55
Parsons, Prof. Howard L.....	45
Passos, Alberto de Jesus.....	54, 55, 57
Patrinos, Sandra.....	61
Pauling, Dr. Linus.....	40
Pavlov, Lubin.....	19
Pavlov, S.....	20
Pelikan, Jiri.....	4, 6, 8, 20, 28
Pelleg Dov.....	20
People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola.....	55
People's World.....	48
People's Youth (organization).....	20
Pergerakan Mahasiwa (Islam Indonesia) (organization).....	20
Perjesi, Laszlo.....	19
Perkins, Rev. I. G.....	40
Permanent Student Committee for Travel to Cuba.....	61
Peterson, Rev. Carl.....	45
Petkoff, Teodoro.....	20
Pfuhl, Lynn.....	45
Pholsena, Quinim.....	39
Piatnica, Imrich.....	19
Piekso, Miss Anna-Liisa.....	24
Pieralli, Piero.....	3, 20, 23, 28
Pillai, Govinda.....	9
Pinto da Costa, Manuel.....	55
Piun.....	20
Polikeit, Georg.....	19
Political Affairs.....	59
Prague Communist training school.....	31
Prague University.....	55
Pratt, Arthur D., Jr.....	45
Prijone, Prof.....	39
Prince, Allen R.....	60
"Problems of Leninism" (pamphlet).....	1
Progressive Labor Student Club.....	61, 62
Progressive Youth Organization (of British Guiana).....	7
Progressive Youth Organizing Committee.....	31, 60-62
Progressive Youth and Student Organization, Guayana (bajo dominacion britanica).....	58

	Page
Prosten, Richard.....	46, 47
Purevjav.....	20
Q	
Quasimodo, Salvatore.....	40
Queens College.....	49
Queensland Peace Committee for International Cooperation and Dis- armement (organization).....	19
Quinlan, Donald.....	48
R	
Rabell, Narciso.....	6, 32
Rabinowitz, Barbara.....	47
Radio Free Europe.....	36
Radio Havana.....	61
Radio Liberty.....	36
Radio Moscow.....	37, 55
Radio Peking.....	37, 61
Radio Prague.....	46
Rashid, Salim Said.....	57
Raschid Shahhamid Mohammed Abdel.....	19
Ratnaweera.....	19
Ratne Deshapiya Senanayake.....	19
Ravelo Renedo Fernando.....	19
Rechetov, Pyotr.....	4
Rechnagel, Helmut.....	40
Reed, James.....	19
Regato, Srta. Lourdes.....	16
Renke, Marian.....	20
Reshetov, Pyotr.....	16, 17, 20, 50
Revolutionary Instruction Schools.....	58
Rhodesiakampanjen (Scandinavian organization).....	54
Riberio, Bento.....	55
Rifait, Hassan.....	39
RJDA (organization).....	20
Roberto, Holden.....	54, 55
Roberts, Holland.....	13, 29, 48
Robertson, R. L.....	45
Robinson, Perry.....	44
Roca, Omar.....	19
Rocha, Carlos.....	55
Rocha, Edmundo.....	55
Rodrigues, Deolinda.....	55
Rogers, Floyd.....	60
Roldan, Leonel.....	19
Romero, Adolfo.....	40
Romerstein, Patricia Cole.....	48
Rose, Rabbi Herbert.....	45
Roure, Jean Claude.....	6
Royal Cambodian Socialist Youth (organization).....	19
Rozsavolgyi, Istvan.....	40
Rubin, Daniel.....	9, 31, 49, 59, 60
Rubio, Carlos.....	55
Russell, Bertrand.....	39, 40
S	
Sufyar.....	20
Sahnoun, Mohamed.....	48
Salvat, Juan Manuel.....	26
Sanchez, Dr. Carlos Olivares.....	16
Sator, R.....	6
Schlosser, Anatol.....	61
Schroder, Prof. Kurt.....	40
Schumann, Horst.....	28, 37
Schumann, Martin.....	9
Schur, Gustav Adolf.....	40

	Page
Seeger, Pete	44
Segal, Jeffrey	47
Semichastny	29
Senegal Youth Movement (organization)	20
Seybold, John W.	20
Sheets, Mrs. Grace B.	45
Shelepin	29
Shepp, Archie	44
Sherif, Hishem	6
Shevchenko, Vladislav G.	20, 26
Shkurti, Lekan	19
Sholokov, Mikhail	40
Silverman, Jerry	44
Simeao, Ana Francisca	55
Sinada, Hassan Bahsir	6, 34
Singh, Lakhbans	19
Sjolshagen, Kari	57
Slavtchev, Piotr	19
Smidth, Tove	19
Sobell, Morton	31
Socialist Youth Union	61, 62
Sodov, Prof. L. I.	40
Sodre, Manuel	55
Soedjone, Mr.	39
Soemantri, R. G.	40
Sofia Youth Council (organization)	20
Hernan, Solorzano	20
Somali General Student Union (organization)	20
Soto, Kionel	58
Southgate, H. S.	45
Soviet "Committee on State Security" (Soviet Secret Police)	29
Soviet-Finnish Friendship Day	25, 50
Soviet Young Communist League (Komsomol)	16
Sperl, Friedrich	19
Spofford, Rev. W. B.	40, 45
Sri Lanka Freedom Party Youth League (organization)	19
SSU Katarine (organization)	20
Stadtmauer, Rabbi Murray	45
Stanford University	49
Steele, Rev. C. K.	45
Stein, Anne	17
Stein, Jacob Meyer, also known as Mike Stein	17, 61
Stein, Mike. (See Stein, Jacob Meyer.)	
Steinberg, Alan	47
Stevens, Edward	48
Stephens, Jacob Stanley	19
Struik, Dirk J.	45
Student Union (of North Korea)	6
Students Civil Liberties Coordinating Committee	46
Students for Peace and Friendship	42
Students Union of Portuguese Black Africa	6
Suarez, Osvaldo Roberto	40
Supreme Council of Youth and Sport (organization)	20
Suroso, Dr. Djayeng	28
Svensson, Per	20

T

Tamariz, Carlos Cueva	39
Tarassov, Feodor	9
TASS	42
Taylor, Cecil	44
Teivainen, Lauri	19
Teles, Carreira H.	57
Tembo, Lastone David	57
Thiam, Bocar Madani	57
Tiekso, Anna-Liisa	19

	Page
Thimansson, Gunilla.....	20
Tigar, Michael.....	47, 48
Titov.....	40
Toledano, Vincente Lombardo.....	39
Tomasova, Miluse.....	19
Tomsen.....	19
Toubi, George.....	20
Toure, Sekou.....	30
Tu Fan-kao.....	35
Turner, Thomas.....	55
26 of July Revolutionary Movement (organization).....	19

U

Umar, Lieutenant Colonel.....	5
UNESCO.....	41, 50
Uniao Nacional dos Etudantes do Brasil (UNEB) Brasil.....	58
Union of Angolan Peoples, The (Communist terroist group).....	55
Union of Democratic Youth of Korea (organization).....	20
Union des Etudiants Guyanais (UEG) Guavana (bajo dominacion francesa).....	58
Union de Federaciones Universitarias de Chile (UFUCH) Chile.....	58
Union Naciona de Estudiantes Colombianos (UNEC) Colombia.....	58
Union of Rumanian Working Youth (UTM) (organization).....	20
Union of Soviet Societies of Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries.....	57
Union of Students, French National (UNEF).....	9
Union of Working Yough (organization).....	19
Union of Working Youth of Vietnam (organization).....	20
United Democratic Youth Organization (EDON) (organization).....	19
United National Independence Party of Northern Rhodesia (UNIP).....	54
United States Festival Committee, Inc.....	43, 48, 49
Letter dated February 3, 1962.....	47
University Reform Front (organization).....	19
University Students for Independence of Puerto Rico, Federation of (FUPI).....	30
U Thant, Mr.....	41
Uutiset, Kansan.....	25

V

Vasile, Florea.....	20
Venegas, Jose.....	6, 55
Viego, Sr. Manuel Payan.....	16
Vienna Daily News.....	12
Vienna Youth Festival.....	11, 29, 32, 61
Virgil, Trofin.....	20
Vogel, Mitchell.....	47
Voice of America.....	36
Vorenberg, Prof. William.....	45
Voronov, Y.....	20
Voss Filomene De Sa.....	57

W

Wachs, Walter.....	13
Wang Chao-hua.....	34
Wang, Chao Hwa.....	19
Watson, Robert.....	55
Weinstein, Bert.....	46-48
Weisbock, Rolf.....	19
Weissbach, Rolf.....	9, 28
Welensky, Sir Roy.....	54
Werner Lamberz.....	19
Williams, Hugh.....	41
Williston, Floyd.....	4
Wirin, A. L.....	46
Wisconsin, University of.....	49
Worker.....	61

	Page
World Assembly of Youth session in Denmark.....	42
World Council of Churches.....	40, 41, 50
World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY) (organization).....	3,
9, 11, 16, 20, 23, 24, 26, 28, 46, 51	5
World Peace Council.....	5
World Student News (magazine).....	8, 9, 41
World Youth (magazine).....	9, 13
World Youth Festival.....	2, 12, 22, 42, 43, 48, 59
World Youth Forum.....	17

Y

Yale University.....	49
Yessieva, F.....	20
Young Communist League.....	20
British.....	11
of Canada (organization).....	19
of Soviet Union.....	26
Young Communist League British Youth Festival Committee (organiza- tion).....	19
Young Quakers (organization).....	19
Youth Council Katarina (YMCA) (organization).....	20
Youth of the Democratic Assembly (organization).....	19
Youth Peace Committee, Southern Division SSU Katarina (organization).....	20
Youth for Peace and Socialism.....	61
Yttergren, Karin.....	9

Z

Zanger, Rabbi Walter.....	45
Zatopek, Emil.....	40
Zengakuren (organization).....	7, 8
Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU).....	54
Zippora Sharoni.....	20
Zitmanis, A.....	20





